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CONTENTS

Otilia LUKÁCS: *Scrutinizing the Sabbath Commandments in the Book of Ezekiel* 5

Réka VALENTIN: *Abiding in Life: the Functionality of the Relationship with God in the Gospel of John*..... 43

Márta BODÓ: *The Education of Hungarian Girls and the “Marianum” Catholic School in Cluj/Kolozsvár. A Cultural and Historical Perspective* 57

Korinna ZAMFIR: *Fénelon and the Education of Girls. A Short Note on Some Enduring Ancient Topoi* 71

CONTENTS

Szabolcs ANDRÁS: *New Details Regarding the Expulsion of Bishop Gyula Glattfelder from Romania* 87

Review 99

ERRATUM AND ADDENDUM..... 101

SCRUTINIZING THE SABBATH COMMANDMENTS IN THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL

OTTILIA LUKÁCS¹

Abstract. This paper examines the thematic and literary correspondences between the Sabbath references (locutions) in the Book of Ezekiel and those attested in the Pentateuch. The analysis focuses on the literary and redaction techniques used to interpret, integrate and re-contextualize the Sabbath locutions into the new textual environment. I argue that the application of the Sabbath commandment was part of Ezekiel's strategy to tackle the exile and to shape the identity of the exiles.

Keywords: Sabbath-commandment, Exodus, Holiness Code, Ezekiel, locution, accusation, redaction technique

This paper scrutinizes the literary and thematic relationship between the Sabbath commandments attested in the Pentateuch,² particularly Ex 31,13b and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 and the Sabbath references in Ezekiel, especially 20,12.13.16.20.21.24; 22,8.26; 23,38; 44,24. There are undeniable literary links between Ex 31,13b and Ez 20,12 on the one hand, as well as Ex 31,13b and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 on the other. Furthermore, we can identify important connections of vocabulary and theme between Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 and Ez 20; 22; 23; 48. This paper explores in detail the literary relationship between these passages.

In my analysis, I draw on the work and methodology of Michael A. Lyons.³ Lyons investigated Ezekiel's use of the earlier legal material, the so-called Holiness Code (hereafter H) and the techniques used to incorporate certain locutions from H into his own work (in terms of mechanics and strategies).⁴ Lyons developed two sets of criteria to determine the direction of the literary relationship between H and Ezekiel⁵ and to describe the nature of these shared locutions, i.e. to decide whether they are used by coincidence or purposefully.⁶

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² In my research on the topic I have identified the following Sabbath commandments: Ex 23,12; 34,21; 20,8-11; 31,12-17; Ex 35,2-3; Lev 19,3b.30a; 23,3; 26,2; Dt 5,12-15.

³ Michael A. LYONS, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code*, New York, London: T&T Clark, 2009.

⁴ LYONS, *Law*, 8–10.

⁵ LYONS, *Law*, 59–67.

⁶ LYONS, *Law*, 67–75.

Lyons' work is all the more relevant to the present discussion as he has addressed the literary relationship between H and Ezekiel. Here I study the literary correspondences between Ez 20; 22; 23, 44, Ex 31,13b, and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 (= H)⁷ based on the criteria established by Lyons.

In what concerns my premises, two main points are of interest. First of all, there are two identifiable patterns of the Sabbath commandments in the Pentateuch: a long form that I call *core commandment*, found in Ex 34,21; 23,12; 20,8-11; Dt 5,12-15; Lev 23,3; Ex 35,2-3; 31,12-17, and a short one, which occurs mainly in Lev: Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 (Ex 31,13b is another example). Second, the analysis of the literary layers of each Sabbath commandment shows that Ex 31,12-17 is in fact a collection of Sabbath commandments, which also incorporates the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment known from Lev. Ex 31,12-17 exhibits literary connections not only with Lev (H) but also with the book of Ez. Therefore, I shall analyze the literary relationship between the Sabbath references in Ezekiel and the short form of the Sabbath commandment in Ex 31,12-17 and in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 (H). As Ezekiel includes the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment, the following questions come to the fore: does Ezekiel 20,12 rely on Ex 31,13 or vice versa? Or does Ezekiel 20 rely on H and on Ex 31? Or does Ex 31 rely on Ez 20 and H? In this regard, I shall firstly examine the relationship between H and Ex 31,13b, than analyze the shared passages of H and Ez. At the end of the analysis of Ez 20, the relationship between Ez 20 and Ex 31,12-17 will also be tackled.

Ex 31,12-17 and the Holiness Code

Lev 19,3b	Lev 19,30a	Lev 26,2	Ex 31,13b
איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת־שבתתי תשמרו אני יהוה אלהיכם	את־שבתתי תשמרו ומקדשי תיראו אני יהוה	את־שבתתי תשמרו ומקדשי תיראו אני יהוה	אך את־שבתתי תשמרו כי אות הוא ביני וביניכם לדורתכם לדעת כי אני יהוה מקדשכם
You shall each revere his mother and his father; and you shall keep / observe my Sabbaths: I am the LORD your God.	<i>My Sabbaths you shall keep / observe,</i> and revere/venerate my sanctuary: I am the LORD.	<i>My Sabbaths you shall keep/observe,</i> and revere/venerate my sanctuary: I am the LORD.	<i>Surely, you shall keep/ observe my Sabbaths,</i> for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations to be known that I am the Lord who sanctifies you.

⁷ Risa LEVITT KOHN assigns these passages to the Priestly layer (*A New Heart and A New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile, and the Torah*, Sheffield: Academic Press, 2002, 49–50).

This comparison shows that Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 and Ex 31,13 represent the so-called shorter form of the Sabbath commandments, אֶת־שַׁבְּתֹתַי הַשְּׁמֹר, To use the terms of Lyons, this shorter form can be called a locution. As noted above, Ex 31,13 is part of the larger collection of Sabbath commandments in Ex 31,12-17, a collection that has literary connections with the H.

In what follows, I will apply the two sets of criteria developed by Lyons (exploring directionality and purposeful use)⁸ to the above-mentioned Sabbath locutions. In the case of Ex 31,12-17 and H, of the first set of criteria (designed for determine directionality)⁹ I have identified the following: (1) modification; (2) interpretative expansion, and (3) splitting and recombination of elements.

a. Modification

Ex 31,12-17 is a collection of Sabbath commandments. The endeavour of the scribe to present a fully elaborated Sabbath commandment on the basis of the existing ones is detectable through the applied techniques, such as the combined reference to the two patterns of the Sabbath commandment, which does not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch. On the basis of Lev 19,3.30; 26,2, we can assume that the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment has been used and reused in the context of Ex 31,13b in a modified way. The first sign of the modification can be the fact that Ex 31,13 does not mention neither the commandment concerning the parents nor that referring to the sanctuary, although they are obviously part of the verses in Lev. This might suggest that the scribe of Ex 31 was interested only in a form that would fit into the frame of his general endeavour to create an elaborated Sabbath commandment.

The motivation found in the Levitical passages (אני יהוה [אלהיכם]) occurs in Ex 31,13, though it seems to be expanded with the participle of the verb קדש (מקדשכם). This participle fits perfectly into the ideological tendency of Ex 31,12-17. Consequently, it might be considered as a second example of modification.

Lyons' assumption holds true for these modifications: the borrowed material (Sabbath locution) is in line with the distinctive ideas present in the new context (the collection of Sabbath commandments).¹⁰

⁸ LYONS, *Law*, 59–75.

⁹ LYONS lists the following criteria under this heading: (1) modification; (2) incongruity; (3) conceptual dependence; (4) interpretative expansion; (5) conflation; and (6) splitting and recombination of elements.

¹⁰ LYONS, *Law*, 61–62.

b. Interpretative expansion

The participle *מקדשכם* can be considered as an example of interpretative expansion, all the more so as it seemingly comes from the same conceptual framework of H.¹¹ The participle *מקדשכם* with the pronominal suffix in the 2nd person masc. pl., apart from Ex 31,13 is attested exclusively in H (Lev 20,8; 21,8; 22,32). Furthermore, *כי אות הוא ביני וביניכם לדרתיכם* (v. 13c) can also be seen as an interpretative expansion since it does not occur in H, and it goes in line with Ex 31,16-17, described as the fourth commandment of the collection.

c. Splitting and Recombination of Elements

In Lev, the Sabbath commandment is followed directly by its motivation (יהוה [אלהיכם] אני), whereas Ex 31,13b has an explanatory expansion inserted between the two elements (v. 13c). The expanded motivation, nevertheless, occupies the same position and the same function in its new context.¹²

Against this background, we can assume that there is an obvious literary dependence between the shorter forms of the Sabbath commandments attested in H and the Sabbath commandment in Ex 31,13b. The shorter form of the Sabbath commandment or the Sabbath locution most likely comes from the H tradition and was incorporated into Ex 31,12-17. The “speech formula” that opens the entire collection of commandments in Ex 31,12, *ויאמר יהוה אל-משה לאמר*, serves the better integration of the Sabbath locution into the collection in Ex 31,12-17.¹³ As Lyons points out, the introductory speech formula is a characteristic feature of the laws in H. As a consequence, there is literary connection not only between Ex 31,13b and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 (H), but also between Ex 31,12-13 and the entire H. Furthermore, in my opinion Ex 31,13b is a commandment created on the basis of the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment in H and of the covenantal traditions handed down in Gen 9 (Noah) and Gen 17 (Abraham).¹⁴

¹¹ LYONS, *Law*, 66. Here he relies on David CARR who argued that expansion can be used as criterion for determining directionality; “Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Ex 34,11-26 and Its Parallels,” in Matthias Köckert, Erhard Blum (eds.), *Gottes Volk am Sinai. Untersuchungen zu Ex 32-34 und Dtn 9-10*, Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001, 107–140.

¹² LYONS, *Law*, 67. Lyons takes over this criterion from Benjamin SOMMER, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

¹³ See further LYONS, *Law*, 16.

¹⁴ Similar strategies and ideological endeavour are also found in Ex 31,16-17.

In what follows, I will check the second set of criteria (for determining purposeful use). Of Lyons' four criteria¹⁵ two, the awareness of context and the interaction with the source text are fulfilled.

d. Awareness of Context

Three possible factors indicate the awareness of the context and the interpretative use.¹⁶ First, in the entire Pentateuch this short form of the Sabbath commandment is attested only in H and Ex 31,13b. Second, as mentioned already, the speech formula typical to H is also attested in Ex 31,12.¹⁷ Third, the expanded motivation at the end of v. 13b draws again on H. The scribe / redactor of Ex 31,12-17 was most likely aware not only of the immediate context of the Sabbath commandment that he reused but also of its larger context in H.

e. Interaction with the Source Text

The locutions *אני יהוה* and *אני יהוה אלהים* are typical to H.¹⁸ Hence, it would not be sufficient to deduce the literary dependence of Ex 31,12-17 on H solely on the basis of these two locutions. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, these locutions are not simply used, but also expanded based on the larger context in H, e.g., with the participle *בכשדקמ*. Furthermore, the number of the occurrences of this short form of the Sabbath commandment is rather limited in Lev (19,3b; 19,30a; 26,2), moreover, the last two agree verbatim. Thus, we can assume that there is a purposeful use of the Sabbath commandment in Ex 31,13b.

To sum up, three criteria have indicated the direction of dependence between H and Ex 31,13b. Further, two of the criteria that define the purposeful use of the source text worked in the case of the Sabbath locutions. This confirms my suggestion that the Sabbath commandment in Ex 31,12-17 is a collection of commandments. This also means that Ex 31,13b draws on Lev 19,3.30; 26,2.

¹⁵ Lyons includes the following criteria into this collection: (1) frequency and distribution of locutions; (2) awareness of context; (3) availability of options; (4) interaction with the source text.

¹⁶ For this criterion Lyons draws on Richard L. SCHULTZ, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOT SS 180), Sheffield: Academic Press, 1999, 224. It is noteworthy that Schultz adds the interpretative use to the simple awareness.

¹⁷ LYONS, *Law*, 71.

¹⁸ LYONS, *Law*, 73.

Ezekiel and the Holiness Code

According to a number of scholars H is dependent on Ezekiel,¹⁹ while others hold the opposite opinion,²⁰ and a third group of authors argues that both Ez and H drew on the same body of laws.²¹ The unity of Ez 20, which has highest number of references to the Sabbath is debated. Those who argue for the unity of the chapter consider that the Sabbath references originate from a priestly redactor who quoted Ex 31,13.²² On the contrary, others maintain that vv. 4-26 form an independent unit (oracle) within the chapter, and consequently the Sabbath accusation finds its place in vv. 4-26 perfectly.²³ It is beyond the scope

¹⁹ Walther ZIMMERLI, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, 52. Zimmerli holds a rather complex view: on the one hand, he assumes that the legal material in Ez was influenced by the earliest (pre-P) form of H (specifically Lev 17, 18, 20), but on the other hand Ez's prophecies influenced the development of later parts of H (especially Lev 26).

²⁰ LYONS, *Law*, 146–148; Rainer ALBERTZ, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (tr. David Green), Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003, 347; Moshe GREENBERG, "The Design and Themes of Ezekiel's Program and Restoration," *Int* 38 (1984) 181–208; Ka Leung WONG, *The Idea of Retribution in the Book of Ezekiel* (VT Sup LXXXVII), Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001, 117–119; LEVITT KOHN, *A New Heart and New Soul*, 117. Wong argues that the covenant plays a special role in Ezekiel's idea of retribution. Moreover, this idea draws on Lev 26 since it follows the language of curses and blessings found in the framework of the covenant.

²¹ Michael D. COOGAN, *The Old Testament: A Historical and Literary Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 393.

²² See e.g. Walther EICHRODT, "Der Sabbat bei Hesekeil: Ein Beitrag zur Nachgeschichte des Prophetentextes" in Heinrich Groß, Hubert Junker, Franz Mußner (eds.), *Lex tua veritas: Festschrift für Hubert Junker zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 8. August 1961, dargeboten von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, Trier: Paulinus, 1961, 65–74 (71); Henning Gr. REVENTLOW, *Wächter über Israel, Ezechiel und seine Tradition* (BZAW LXXXII), Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1962.

²³ Johan LUST, *Traditie, Redactie en Kerygma bij Ezekiel: Een Analyse van Ez., XX, 1-26*, Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1969, 127; ID., *Ézéchiël, XX, 4-26: Une Parodie de l'histoire religieuse d'Israël*, Extrait des *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* XLIII, fasc. 3-4, Gembloux: Éd. J. Duculot, 1967, 507–508. See also ALBERTZ, *Israel in Exile*, 365–367. He argues for the division of the chapter and admits a similar structure: Ez 20,5-26 includes the history of the exodus generation, while Ez 20,27-44 that of the exilic generation. WONG distinguishes subunits defined as vv. 1-31 and 32-44 (*Retribution*, 66). See also Franz SEDLMEIER, *Studien zu Komposition und Theologie von Ezechiel 20* (SBB 21), Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990, 136. ZIMMERLI considers Ez 20 a "self-contained unit" and assumes that the basic prophecy is found in vv.

of this paper to decide this debate, therefore I limit myself to those verses which are relevant for my investigation, as they contain the reference to the Sabbath: Ez 20,12.13.16.20.21.24; 22,8.26; 23,38; 44,24.

One may question the legitimacy of this selection since there are other passages in Ezekiel which mention the שבת. A closer look, however, reveals immediately that we encounter two different forms of reference to the Sabbath in Ez. The first includes the selected references to the Sabbath locutions or the shorter form based on H, i.e., את־שבתותי (plural + 1st person sg. pronominal suffix). The second form, though very similar to the first one, has two distinctive features: the pronominal suffix in the 1st person sg. does not occur (שבתות), and the Sabbath is mentioned with the new moon: ובחדשים ובשבתות (45,17) and בשבתות ובחדשים (46,1.3). This type of reference occurs only three times in Ez (45,17; 46,3)²⁴, although it is also attested elsewhere.²⁵ In my view, the reference to the Sabbaths together with the new moons represents a different tradition, which requires a separate study. Here, it is enough to keep in mind that the Sabbath is mentioned altogether fifteen times in Ez: ten times as a Sabbath locution,²⁶ three together with the new moons²⁷ and twice as simply the Sabbath day (יום השבתי).²⁸

Lyons' view that the compositional and redaction levels of the book of Ezekiel draw on the Holiness Code is well argued and convincing.²⁹ This perspective is confirmed by the references to the Sabbath commandment, although Lyons does not include them into the group of H locutions used by Ezekiel, except for 22,8 and 23,38. He assumes merely that the reference שבתותי

5-26. He ascribes vv. 1-31 to the prophet and vv. 32-44 to the later redactor (*Ezekiel* 1, 404-405).

²⁴ Ez 46,1 prescribes the same provisions concerning the gate of the inner court on the Sabbath days and on the days of the new moon.

²⁵ Four times in Chronicles (1 Chr 23,31; 2 Chr 2,3; 8,13; 31,3), with an additional reference to the Sabbath in 2 Chr 36,21, which is an explicit reference to Jer 25,11; 29,10 and Lev 26,34-36.43), once in Nehemiah (10,34), twice in Isaiah (1,13; 66,23), once in Hosea (13,2) and once in Amos (8,5). Some passages mention the Sabbath with the new moon, both in singular: 2 Kgs 4,23; Isa 66,23; Hos 2,14; Am 8,5, and Ez 46,1.4 (in a larger section that deals with the offerings during the festivals). In these passages too, the importance of these festivals is obvious.

²⁶ Ez 20,12.13.16.20.21.24; 22,8.26; 23,38; 44,24.

²⁷ Ez 45,17; 46,1.3.

²⁸ Ez 46,4.12.

²⁹ LYONS, *Law*, 8-9, 14, 146-156, 157-161.

“may reflect the priestly terminology or the use of H’s idiom in a general way.”³⁰ Contrary to Lyons, however, I argue that the Sabbath passages in Ezekiel exhibit literary connections to H. I would reiterate the observations made hitherto. Firstly, the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment or the Sabbath locution ostensibly derives from H (and it does not occur in the other Priestly layers of the Pentateuch). Secondly, this locution was reused and expanded in Ex 31,13b, which shows evident literary connections with Ez 20,12.20. Thirdly, the noun שבת with the pronominal suffix in the 1st person sg. requires a more in-depth study before we accept it as a priestly idiom, as Lyons does. Fourthly, this sort of reference is not the only example that occurs in Ez, i.e. the book has two forms of the Sabbath references. Finally, given the fact that the majority of the occurrences are found in Ez 20, this chapter requires more attention.

I start therefore with the Sabbath references in Ez 20 and their literary connections with Ex 31,13b and H. I then examine Ez 22,8 and 22,6, paying special attention to the structure of Ez 22. I finally discuss Ez 23,38 and Ez 44,24.

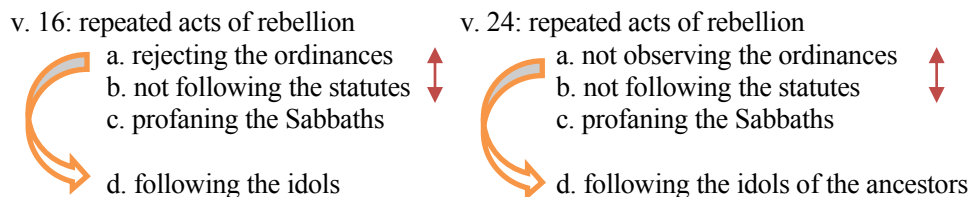
Ez 20 and the Holiness Code

A closer examination of the immediate contexts of the Sabbath locutions in Ez 20,4-26 reveals two parallel units: Ez 20,10-17 and 20,18-26.³¹ In each God recalls one segment of Israel’s history in the wilderness. The entire passage presents God’s troubled relation with the two wilderness generations. The parallel sections include the verses which are relevant to the present discussion:

Ez 20,10-17 = First generation	Ez 20,18-26 = Second generation
v. 11: God gives His	v. 19: God ordains that His
a. statutes	a. statutes be followed
b. ordinances	b. ordinances be observed carefully
v. 12: c. Sabbaths	v. 20: c. Sabbaths be hallowed
v. 13: Israel’s rebellion	v. 21: Israel’s rebellion
a. not following the statutes	a. not following the statutes
b. rejecting the ordinances	b. not observing carefully the ordinances
c. profaning the Sabbaths	c. profaning the Sabbaths

³⁰ LYONS, *Law*, 170.

³¹ For a more detailed structural analysis of Ez 20,4-26 see LUST, *Tradition*, 104–112; ID., *Ézéchiel*, 496–502. Lust divides the whole unit into four stanzas and identifies four elements in each stanza. See also SEDLMEIER, *Studien*, 212ff.



God stipulates three conditions regarding the relationship with His people: rejecting / turning away from the Egyptian idols (v. 7), following the divine ordinances and statutes (vv. 11 & 19), and consecrating / hallowing the Sabbaths (vv. 12 & 20). These crucial conditions define in fact the covenant. Both generations committed the same offenses against this relationship. Sins are described twice – in v. 13 par. v. 21 and v. 16 par. v. 24. The ways of rejecting the statutes and ordinances and profaning the Sabbath by following the idols are mentioned explicitly only the second time. Interestingly, idolatry is presented as explanation only in v. 16, being introduced by the conjunction ׀. In v. 24, idolatry is presented as the fourth offense, as it is introduced by the conjunction ׀. In spite of this difference, in both cases idolatry may be seen as an explanation, due to the parallel construction and the rhythm that describes the rebellion of both generations. Although I do not enter into the discussion concerning idols and idolatry, it is important to highlight the unique combination of the statutes and ordinances with the Sabbath, and the different role they receive in Ez 20. The Sabbath is mentioned together with the statutes and ordinances, but it receives a special status, as it is mentioned by name.³² Therefore, the Sabbath belongs to a different category because (1) it is given separately in the wilderness, (2) it is referred as one law that should be consecrated over against the statutes and ordinances which should either be followed or observed, (3) it is the one which is profaned distinctly, as opposed to the statutes and ordinances, which are either rejected or not followed. In other words, the Sabbath is defined according to the holy-profane dichotomy.

As each reference to the Sabbath has a counterpart in Ez 20, I present the parallel verses together in what follows.

Ez 20,12.20 and Ex 31,13b

Ex 31,13b Surely, you shall keep my Sabbaths, for she [it] is a sign between me and you throughout your generations to be known that I the LORD sanctify you / I am the Lord who sanctifies you.

³² LUST, *Traditie*, 122: “Nergens elders vindt men de drie termen *ḥuqqôt*, *mišpāḥim* en *šabbôt* op gelijkaardige wijze verenigd. De Sabbatgebod krijgt alle nadruk, als enig concreet gebod dat noemenswaard blijkt te zijn na de algemene vermelding van de wetten en voorschriften.” Cf. ID., *Ézéchiël*, 503–504.

Ez 20,12 Moreover, I gave them my Sabbaths, as a sign between me and them, so that they might know that I the LORD sanctify them.

Ez 20,20 and hallow my Sabbaths that they may be a sign between me and you, so that you may know that I the LORD am your God.³³

I shall apply again Lyons' two sets of criteria used to determine directionality and purposeful use. In the case of Ez 20, three of the criteria of directionality deserve attention: modifications, interpretative expansion and conflation.

a. Modifications

It should be stressed that the Sabbath is described as a sign between God and Israel only in Ex 31,13b.17 and Ez 20,12.20. Further, the modification concerning the style and genre need to be highlighted. Ex 31,13b(17) records God's commandment in the 1st person sg., whereas in Ez 20,12.20 the divine speech evokes God's history with His people. The commandment of Ex 31,13b is remembered in Ez 20,12.20 as a past event, the time when Israel received the Sabbath commandment.

The following modifications are detectable in Ez 20,12: (1) the adverb of emphasis אַךְ in Ex 31,13b is replaced by the conjunction גם in Ez 20,12. גם most likely marks the climax of a series of situation, in this case the series of divine statutes and ordinances, all the more so as it is accompanied by the conjunction וְ: גם (and also, moreover).³⁴ Thus, גם opens Ez 20,12 probably to emphasize the message and to connect it to the preceding verses (vv. 10-11). Accordingly, God did not merely lead out his chosen people from the Egyptian slavery but also gave them His Sabbaths. (2) Instead of the verb שָׁמַר, the verb נָתַן is used with the prepositional phrase לָהֶם. Hence, the command is transformed into a recalled event. (3) The second part of v. 12 is also adapted to its new context: instead of the conjunction כִּי that introduces the motivation of the commandment in Ex 31,13c, the infinitive construct לַהֲיִית׀ is applied to describe the "original" purpose

³³ The English translations generally follow NRSV and JPS but include some emendation for the purposes of highlighting the topic of the present paper.

³⁴ Bruce K. WALTKE and M. O'CONNOR, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990, 586, 663. גם can also be used as an item adverb and as signal of a final climax (p. 663). Takamitsu MURAOKA notes that גם possesses an "additive force" in the great majority of the cases, even if it is used to express "the asseverative-emphatic force" (*Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985, 143–146).

of giving the Sabbath to Israel.³⁵ (4) The purpose, however, coincides with the motivation of the commandment, i.e., the Sabbath was meant to serve as a sign to the people so that they may know that God is sanctifying them. One slight modification, however, is found in this purpose as well: the noun לדרתיכם (*throughout your generations*)³⁶ is left out. This seems to emphasize the changed circumstances: the Sabbath commandment given to Israel to serve as sign for generations is recalled here as a past event; at the moment of God's speech the future of the broken relationship is not secured. Moreover, the changed addressee is also marked by the lack of the noun לדרתיכם: the commandment in Ex 31 is addressed directly to the chosen people in the 2nd person pl. In Ez 20 the reference to the people is in the 3rd person pl. and embedded in God's speech to Ezekiel.

Ez 20,20 contains a number of modifications in comparison with Ex 31,13b and Ez 20,12. (1) The addressee is different, since in Ez 20,20 God states that He also gave the Sabbath commandment to the second wilderness generation. (2) The imperative preserves the character of commandment, but the verb is changed: קדש is used instead of שמר or נתן to describe the obligation of the second generation with regard to God's Sabbath. (3) The verb היה occurs in *we-qatalti* in Ez 20,20 whereas v. 12 has the infinitive construct להיות. The *we-qatalti*, however, fits perfectly into the context of a commandment as it normally used to express a process which has not yet begun at the moment of the announcement.³⁷ Joüon and Muraoka show that the *we-qatalti* carries similar values as the *yiqtol* and it is used for an action subsequent to another one.³⁸ The infinitive construct להיות, in agreement with its context, signifies a logical succession (motivation).³⁹ (4) At the end, v. 20 has God's name אלהים, over against v. 12 and Ex 31,13b which include the participle of קדש (מקדשם / מקדשכם): *I the Lord am your God* (Ez 20,20) vs. *I the Lord who sanctify you/them* (Ex 31,13b; Ez 20,12). Thus Ez 20,20 corresponds to the expanded locutions אני יהוה אלהיכם in Lev 19,3b (H).⁴⁰

³⁵ For the various uses of the “infinitive with the preposition ל”: WALTKE, O'CONNOR, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 606. Here the infinitive of היה with ל- is meant to express the purpose or result, and at the same time it introduces a purpose clause.

³⁶ Ex 31,17 uses לעולם (*forever*).

³⁷ Jan JOOSTEN, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*, Jerusalem: Simor, 2012, 15.

³⁸ Paul JOÜON and T. MURAOKA, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, ²2008, 367–368.

³⁹ Cf. WALTKE, O'CONNOR, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 523.

⁴⁰ LYONS regards both אני יהוה אלהיכם and אני יהוה אלהים as locutions of H (*Law*, 72).

b. Interpretative expansion

In both Ez 20,12 and 20 the verb היה is an interpretative expansion because the verses express the purpose of the Sabbaths (v. 12) and the logical consequence of hallowing the Sabbaths (v. 20). Lyons does not mention the interpretative omissions, but the lack of לדרתיכם in these verses may be considered as part of the interpretative endeavour.

c. Conflation

As it was already pointed out, Ez 20,20 uses the longer locution אני יהוה אלהיכם. This modification results from the conflation of the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment in Lev 19,3b and the אני יהוה אלהיכם locution in H, more specifically Ex 31,13b.

Of the criteria that determine the intentionality behind the use of Ex 31,13b the following are fulfilled: the frequency and distribution of the locution, the awareness of context, the availability of options and the interaction with the source text.

a. Frequency and Distribution of the Locution

Lyons examined the significant occurrences of locutions with the help of the *frequency and distribution* criterion presented by Schultz. In his study, Schultz formulated the following guiding question: “Do the shared locutions occur in a significantly higher proportion in the source and target texts than in other texts?”⁴¹ Thus, I have already underlined that Ex 31,13b and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 are the only occurrences of the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment in the Pentateuch. I have also pointed out that Ex 31,13b relies on H as well as on the covenant traditions in Gen 9; 17, and as a consequence, a unique expression of the Sabbath commandment came into being. This unique expression in Ex 31,13b occurs twice in Ez 20. These two occurrences are parallel in a certain sense since once the commandment is addressed to the first wilderness generation and once to the second one. Consequently, in my view the intentionality behind the use of Ex 31,13b is detectable.

b. Awareness of Context

The combined use of the locutions in Ex 31,13c and the longer locution from H (אני יהוה אלהיכם) seems to be an evident sign of the scribes' awareness of

⁴¹ LYONS, *Law*, 68. Cf. SCHULTZ, *Search for Quotation*, 223, 231.

the literary relationship between Ex 31,13 and Lev 19,3 (or simply H), all the more so as the reference to God as **מקדשם** אֲנִי יְהוָה occurs only once in Ezekiel.⁴²

c. Availability of Options

The scribe of Ez 20,20 had two options to formulate the Sabbath commandment, the original locution with the verb **שמר** and that in v. 12 with the verb **נתן**. Nevertheless, he opted for a third verb to express the same idea, namely **קדש**.

d. Interaction with the Source Text

The verb **קדש** may point to the interaction with the source text because the root **קדש** occurs in the immediate context of Ex 31,13b, in vv. 14b and 15b. The possibility of the interaction with the longer form of the Sabbath commandment (*core commandment*) should not be excluded since the Sabbath commandment in Ex 20,8.11 and Dt 5,12 also has **קדש**.

Based on these criteria we can summarize the techniques applied in Ez 20,12.20.⁴³ First, the difference between these two verses (Ez 20,12.20) may reflect the purposeful use of the source material: Ex 31,13b applies the verb of command **רמש** (*observe, keep*), whereas v. 21 has the verb **נתן** (*give*) and v. 20 includes the verb **שדק** (*hallow*). Second, with respect to the presentation of the source material, Ex 31,13b is embedded in God's speech to the prophet. Lyons also notices this detail remarking that Ezekiel never employs citation formulae when he uses locutions from H. Further, Lyons considers Ex 20,10-13.23-24 as an example for the use of H as an "external entity" in God's review of Israel's history (Ez 20,11 par. Lev 18,4-5).⁴⁴ Third, conflation occurs especially in Ez 20,20, which most probably combines Ex 31,13b and Lev 19,3b. Fourth, there are remarkable signs of integration, such as the adjustments of the person and number of the verbs according to the new context: (1) in Ex 31,13b the verb **תשמרו** in *yiqtol* 2nd person masc. pl. functions as an imperative in the commandment; in Ez 20,12 the verb **נתתי** in *qatal* and 1st person sg. has a descriptive function, while in Ez 20,20, the verb **קדשו** in *piel* imperative masc. pl. is used as an explicit command. (2) The *piel* participle of **קדש** has the pronominal suffix of the 2nd person masc. pl. in Ex 31,13b (**מקדשכם**) while the same participle has the pronominal suffix of the 3rd person masc. pl. in Ez 20,12 (**מקדשם**). Fifth, the (re)interpretation of the Sabbath locution is one of the most remarkable

⁴² The other ways of reference to God are: **אדני יהוה** (vv. 3 [twice], 5, 31, 33, 44), **אני יהוה** (vv. 5, 7, 19, 20) and **אלהיכם** (vv. 26, 38, 42, 44).

⁴³ In the discussion of the techniques I rely on the terminology used by LYONS, *Law*, 76–78.

⁴⁴ LYONS, *Law*, 80.

techniques applied in Ez 20. The Sabbath may be seen as a sign of the covenant between God and the first generation of the chosen people as well as the sign of the renewed covenant with the second generation because of three reasons: (1) the Sabbath locutions occur right after the evocation of the giving of the law (vv. 11&19); (2) the elements in Ex 31,13b(.17) that I identified as possible allusions to the covenant (אֹת, בִּינִי וּבִינֵיהֶם) are taken over verbatim, and (3) the covenant itself is not mentioned throughout Ez 20 although the chapter presents the history of God's relationship to Israel. Therefore, in my view, the Sabbath occupies a central position in Ez 20 as an emphatic commandment. Additionally, Ez 20 creates a special connection between the Sabbaths and the exile:⁴⁵ the exile was brought about not simply by the failure to observe the covenantal laws, but also specifically by the profanation of the Sabbath.

The relationship between Ex 31,13b and Ez 20,12.20 remains to be addressed here. It should be noted that the scholarly debate is limited to Ex 31,13 and Ez 20,12 and authors envisage three possible options: Ex 31,13 depends on Ez 20,12; Ez 20,12 depends on Ex 31,13,⁴⁶ or both rely on a common Priestly tradition.⁴⁷

I would exclude the third option for several reasons. The so-called "common Priestly tradition" coincides with Lev 19,3b.30a, and 26,2 is ascribed to the H. Theoretically, Ex 31,13b and Ez 20,12 could have developed independently from a common source, but there are too many shared elements to be ascribed to a coincidence. For instance, the Sabbath is presented as sign between God and Israel (Ex 31,13b.17 and Ez 20,12.20). In Ex 31 the sign is meant to express the notion of eternal covenant (v. 16, בְּרִית עוֹלָם). Although in Ez 20 בְּרִית does not occur at all, the evoked relationship between God and Israel obviously signifies the covenant. Finally, both Ex 31,13b.17 and Ez 20,12.20 define the Sabbath within the holy–profane dichotomy.

Furthermore, I would also exclude the first option (Ex 31,13 depends on Ez 20,12). On the one hand, Ez 20, in which the Sabbath locution is embedded, expresses a strong accusation theology. On the other hand, I have argued that Ex 31,12-17 is a collection of Sabbath commandments attempting to incorporate every possible formulation. The notion of indictment does not occur however in

⁴⁵ LUST, *Traditie*, 125; Leslie C. ALLEN, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC 29), Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990.

⁴⁶ Moshe GREENBERG describes Ez 20,12 as "a virtual citation of Ex 31,13"; *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22), Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 366.

⁴⁷ Here I rely on LUST's summary: *Traditie*, 123.

Ex 31. The reference to the possible profanation of the Sabbath in Ex 31,14 can hardly be dependent on Ez 20. Instead, in my opinion, it reflects the theological background of Leviticus (and of H).

Consequently, analyzing the literary connections between Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 and Ex 31,12-17, and between Ex 31,12-17 and Ez 20,12.20, I find it most likely that Ez 20,12.20 depend on Ex 31,13. Nonetheless, one may ask why only the shorter form of the Sabbath locution from Ex 31,13.14.17 is reused in Ez 20, although Ex 31,12-17 reflects a rather large collection of Sabbath commandments? Obviously, we cannot know for sure the redactional intention. Nevertheless, one possible answer is that the redactor(s) / scribe(s) of Ez 20 might have been interested above all in H (in the case of the Sabbath, in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2), therefore, their primarily source were the Sabbath commandments in Lev 19 and 26. Consequently, Ex 31,13.14.17 as a further interpretation of the same commandment of H might have served as a source of inspiration, without playing crucial role in Ez 20. As a consequence, we encounter a new interpretation of the Sabbath which draws on Ex 31,13 and Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2. The picture concerning the Sabbath in Ez will be completed in the following section where I discuss the other Sabbath references.

Ez 20,13.21 and Ez 20,16.24

Ez 20,13 But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they did not observe my statutes but rejected my ordinances, by whose observance everyone shall live; and my Sabbaths they greatly profaned. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them in the wilderness, to make an end of them.

Ez 20,21 But the children rebelled against me; they did not follow my statutes, and were not careful to observe my ordinances, by whose observance everyone shall live; they profaned my Sabbaths. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them and spend my anger against them in the wilderness.

Ez 20,16 because they rejected my ordinances and did not observe my statutes, and profaned my Sabbaths; *for* their heart went after their idols.

Ez 20,24 because they had not executed my ordinances, but had rejected my statutes and profaned my Sabbaths, *and* their eyes were set on their ancestors' idols.

As noted already, these parallels in Ez 20 are meant to compare the rebellious acts of the two wilderness generations, namely the rejection of the statutes and ordinances on the one hand and the profanation of the Sabbath, on the other. Interestingly, these verses reflect a change of the verbs that express the

rejection of the laws, whereas the profanation of the Sabbath is expressed in the same way. It should also be noted that the definition of the Sabbath within the holy–profane dichotomy is known already from Ex 31,14, the second commandment of the collection in Ex 31,12-17. Thus, as it was mentioned above, presumably Ez 20 draws on Ex 31,12-17 and on the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment in H.

In what follows I discuss the thematic and lexical connections between Ez 20,13.21 and Ex 31,14 as well as H. Of the criteria for determining directionality the following are fulfilled: modification, conceptual dependence and interpretative expansion.

a. Modification

The most prominent modification is the transformation of the Sabbath commandment found in Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 and probably Ex 31,13b (H) into an accusation, under the influence of Ex 31,14:



The techniques are similar to those I have described above in the case of Ez 20,12.20: (1) change of verbs: instead of the verb of command שמר the verb הלל is introduced. I have already pointed out that the verb הלל as well as the holy–profane dichotomy belong to the characteristic feature of Leviticus, especially of the H. Thus, the change of the verbs might have depended on H and on Ex 31,14. (2) Changes of tenses, persons and numbers arise for שמר and חלל. On the one hand, the verb שמר occurs in the 2nd person masc. pl. imperative and expresses a command for the present / future generations. On the other hand, the verb חלל is attested in the 3rd person masc. pl. *piel qatal* and expresses an accusation against those generations. These techniques foster the integration of this accusation into the historical retrospect in Ez 20. This technique of transformation is recurrent in Ez, moreover, it occurs in the immediate context of the Sabbath accusation. As Lyons argues, Ez 20 transforms the commands of Lev 18,4-5 into a prophetic accusation⁴⁸, i.e., vv. 13ab // 21ab; vv. 16ab // 24ab can be identified as accusations created on the basis of Lev 18,4-5.

b. Conceptual dependence

The criterion of conceptual dependence is easily detectable in the changes of verbs. The holy–profane dichotomy is to be related to the H, and the

⁴⁸ LYONS, *Law*, 115–116.

presentation of the Sabbath commandment in the light of this dichotomy occurs for the first time in Ex 31,14. In brief, Ez 20 reflects literary and ideological dependence on both H and Ex 31,14.

c. Interpretative expansion

At the end of the second set of accusations (vv. 16d // 24d), an interpretative expansion or explanatory comment is added, which is meant to explain the accusation. These verses identify idolatry as the offense behind the accusations.

In what follows, I examine the purposeful reuse of the material from H and Ex 31,14 looking at the frequency and distribution of locutions, the awareness of the context and the interaction with the source text.

d. Frequency and Distribution of Locutions

In light of Schultz's suggestion regarding the higher proportion of shared locutions in source and target texts (mentioned above),⁴⁹ our statistic shows that we encounter the significant occurrences of the locution אַת־שַׁבְּתַי הַלֵּל. The accusation אַת־שַׁבְּתַי הַלֵּל is attested only in Ezekiel: four times in Ez 20 (vv. 13c // 21c; 16c // 24d), once in Ez 23,38 (verbatim) and once in Ez 22,8 (הַלֵּל is in the 2nd pers. fem. sg.: אַת־שַׁבְּתַי הַלֵּל).

e. Awareness of Context

The most striking example of *awareness of context* is the use of the verb הַלֵּל. In Ez 20 there are two things that can be profaned: God's name (vv. 9, 14, 22, 39) and His Sabbaths (vv. 13, 16, 21, 24). The verb הַלֵּל occurs altogether eighteen times in the Pentateuch: sixteen times in Lev which coincides with the H and twice in Ex 20,25; 31,14. In most cases the object of profanation is God's name (seven times).⁵⁰ As noted, most likely Ex 31,14 draws on the H and it introduces a completely new interpretation of the Sabbath, based on the holy–profane dichotomy.⁵¹ As a consequence, the use of הַלֵּל in Ez 20 may prove the scribe's awareness of both contexts, H and Ex 31,14.

⁴⁹ Ez 20,12.20 and Ex 31,13b, cf. *Frequency and Distribution of Locutions*: “Do the shared locutions occur in a significantly higher proportion in the source and target texts than in other texts?” (SCHULTZ, *Search for Quotation*, 223, 231).

⁵⁰ Also the sanctuary (four times), the land (once), the sacrifice of well-being (once) and the priests (four times).

⁵¹ Ex 20,25 deals with the profanation of the altar, highly suggesting the literary dependence of Ex 20,25 on H.

Schultz mentions the interpretative expansion or, in his words, the “appended explanatory comment”⁵² as criterion attesting the awareness of the context. In the present case, the statements concerning the idols may be considered as interpretative expansions in vv. 16d // 24d. This type of interpretative expansion is added only after the second set of accusation (vv. 16 // 24) most probably to indicate the nature and degree of the offenses.

f. Interaction with the Source Text

Lyons shows that the most obvious sign of the interaction with the source text is the presence of creative interaction, which may include the techniques of reinterpretation, creating new arguments etc.⁵³ In our case there are two striking examples of creative reinterpretation: the prophetic accusation (את־שבתתי חללו) and the explanatory comment about idolatry (אֲחֵרֵי וְאֲחֵרֵי גִלּוּלֵיהֶם לָבָם הַלֵּדָה (גִּלּוּלֵי אֲבוֹתָם הָיוּ עֵינֵיהֶם). Again, the prophetic accusation is a reinterpretation of the Sabbath commandment on the basis of Ex 31,14. In this way, Ex 31,14 is reused in a new context. In Ex 31,14, the verb חָלַל occurs as a possible example of violation the Sabbath, whereas in Ez 20,13.16.21.24 it expresses the severity of the transgression. The introduction of the theme of idolatry, expressed by the noun גִּלּוּל, may be a good example of interaction with the source. As a result, Ez 20 adds a new way of transgressing the Sabbath commandment, by turning to the idols of the ancestors.

To sum up, Lyons’ criteria allowed me to define the direction of the literary dependence between the H and Ez 20 with regard to the Sabbath commandment. A more detailed examination of the use of the Sabbath locution or the shorter commandment in Ez 20 revealed a purposeful use of the Sabbath locution. Moreover, it became evident that Ez 20 draws both on H and Ex 31,14: the holy–profane dichotomy most likely comes from Lev (H), being applied for the first time to the Sabbath in Ex 31,14. Thus, the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment was reused and reinterpreted in Ez 20 in the light of Ex 31,13-14. Due to the interpretative redaction techniques, the Sabbath commandment is presented as an accusation against the ancestors (the two wilderness generations), which perfectly fits into God’s speech addressed to the prophet. The transformation of the commandment into an accusation is one of the most typical techniques in Ezekiel. The Sabbath receives an emphatic position in the recalled history of Israel. Contrary to the rest of the statutes and ordinance, the Sabbath is interpreted in terms of the holy–profane dichotomy.

⁵² SCHULTZ, *Search for Quotation*, 224–225.

⁵³ LYONS, *Law*, 73.

Ez 22 and the Holiness Code

Ez 22 includes three distinct oracles of judgment: against Jerusalem, the bloody city (vv. 1-16), the house of Israel (vv. 17-22), and the unclean land / people of Israel (vv. 23-31).⁵⁴ The first and the third mention the profanation of the Sabbaths. The references to the Sabbaths are rather different, and the two oracles form two discrete units. Therefore, I will discuss these units separately.

Ez 22,8

קִדְּשֵׁי בְּזִית וְאֶת־שִׁבְּתוֹתַי הִקְלַלְתָּ

You have despised my holy things,
and profaned my Sabbaths.

The reference to the Sabbath in Ez 22,8 is part of a series of indictments in God's speech to Ezekiel (vv. 2-12) envisaging the exile as divine judgment (vv. 14-16). Similarly to Ez 20, the speech of God tackles the transgressions of Jerusalem that lead to the divine punishment. The first part of the accusations names issues like bloodshed and idols (vv. 3-5), whereas the second part includes a series of social, cultic and sexual offenses: mistreatment of parents, resident foreigners, orphans and widows (vv. 6-7), ignoring God's holy things and the profanation of God's Sabbaths (v. 8), as well as a series of offenses concerning the ritual and moral holiness issues (vv. 9-11) and taking bribes (v. 12). The third part includes the announcement of judgment that brings the impurity of Jerusalem to an end (vv. 13-15).⁵⁵

In what follows I focus on the Sabbath locution in Ez 22,8, applying Lyons' criteria. I firstly examine the criteria for establishing directionality.

⁵⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the structure of Ez 22, see Margaret S. ODELL, *Ezekiel*, Atlanta, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2005, 281–283. ALBERTZ assumes that the book of Ezekiel, contrary to other prophetic books, does not reflect “a collection of prophetic oracles but a sequence of discourses, often lengthy, addressed to the prophet by God” (*Israel in Exile*, 346). See also Steven TUELL, *Ezekiel* (Understanding the Bible Commentary Series), Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2012, 144–148.

⁵⁵ See further ODELL, *Ezekiel*, 281–284. These laws reflect close literary connections to Lev 18,6-9; 19-20 (esp. 19,2-3 = Sabbaths and parents); 22,1-16; 26,27-35; the Decalogues in Ex 20,12 and Dt 5,16; Dt 27,16. Odell suggests that the oracle in vv. 1-16 is meant to “evaluate Jerusalem against the norms of Holiness Code” (p. 291). Similarly, ZIMMERLI emphasizes the literary value and the rhetorical dynamics of this oracle and warns against looking for specific historical facts that might lie behind the accusations (*Ezekiel* 1, 467).

a. Modification

Just as in Ez 20,13.16.21.24 the Sabbath commandment (locution) is transformed into an accusation. Without repeating the argument, I have shown that the source texts of the Sabbath commandment in Ez 20 are Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 and Ex 31,13b, and the transformation might have happened under the influence of Ex 31,14, since it tackles the profanation of the Sabbath:



The techniques applied here closely resemble those used in Ez 20: (1) change of verbs (חלל instead of שמר), and (2) changes of tenses, persons and numbers: in H, שמר in the 2nd person masc. pl. imperative expresses a commandment to Israel, while in Ez 22,8 חלל is in the 2nd person fem. sg. *piel qatal* is an accusation against the “bloody city” of Jerusalem. These modifications allow a perfect integration of the accusation into the divine oracle against Jerusalem.

b. Conflation

Ez 22,8 contains two parallel accusations, that of despising God’s holy things and of profaning God’s Sabbaths. This double charge prompted Lyons’ to assume that Ez 22,8 might be a conflation of Lev 19,3 (את־שבתותי תשמרו) and 19,8 (כי־את־קדש יהוה חלל).⁵⁶ In this regard, he disagrees with Block’s suggestion that Ez 22,8 is an adaptation of Lev 19,30.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Lyons considers the term שבתתי (*my Sabbaths*) as an idiom of H and he therefore attributes the use of this term in Ez to the common priestly terminology. However, if we take into account the occurrences of this term in H or even in the Pentateuch it becomes evident that שבתתי is not merely a common priestly term. Instead, it is an essential part of the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment. This points to a conscious use of the Sabbath locution in the Pentateuch as well as in Ezekiel.

A creative conflation based on the Sabbath locution and on the recurrent accusation in Ezekiel, i.e. אֲשֶׁר־בָּזוּת אֱלֹהִים לְהַפִּיר בְּרִית (16,59) is also detectable here. The verb בזה is used only five times in Ez: four times in the accusations related to the oath (16,59 cf. 17,16.18.19) and once in 22,8. In accusations, בזה occurs in Israel’s indictment for having despised the oath. Yet in 22,8 the verb is applied to

⁵⁶ LYONS, *Law*, 114–115, 164, 171.

⁵⁷ Daniel Isaac BLOCK, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997, 707; LYONS, *Law*, 115, 171.

God's holy things. Furthermore, whereas the second part of the accusation in Ez 16–17 includes the accusation of breaking the covenant, in 22,8 the second part refers to the profanation of the Sabbath. Again, it seems that the Sabbath is associated with the covenant.

c. Conceptual Dependence

As a consequence of this conflation we may notice the conceptual dependence on Lev 19,3b; 30a; 26,2; Ex 31,14 (H) and Ez 16,59; 17,16.18.19. The holy–profane dichotomy develops on two levels, - the rejection of God's holy things and the profanation of God's Sabbaths. Therefore, the Sabbath is placed again within the holy–profane dichotomy, known from Ex 31,14 and Ez 20.

In what follows I examine the purposeful use of these locutions in H.

a. Frequency and Distribution

The profanation of the Sabbath occurs altogether six times in Ez. In all cases the accusation is addressed to the whole community of Israel, except for Ez 22,8, where the addressee is Jerusalem. As already mentioned, the understanding of the Sabbath in the terms of holy–profane most probably comes from Ex 31,14 (H). The common technique in Ez of turning H locutions into accusation is again striking in the case of the Sabbath locution, a commandment in Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 (H); Ex 31,13, reinterpreted as a charge in Ez 20; 22; 23.

b. Awareness of Context

The criterion is even more obvious if we look at all the verses of the Sabbath locutions in Lev. Lev 19,3 joins two commandments: the short Sabbath locution and the reverence of the parents. Lev 19,30 and 26,2 (which agree verbatim) also combine two commandments: the Sabbath and the reverence of the sanctuary. Although in Ex 31,13.14 only the Sabbath commandment is attested, the additional motivation and interpretation of the Sabbath is added (holy–profane, sign between God and Israel etc). Lyons also considers Ez 22,8 as a possible conflation of Lev 19,3 (*my Sabbaths*) and 19,8 (*they have profaned what is holy to the LORD*, כִּי־אֶת־קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה).⁵⁸

By the same token, my short statistics about the term קֹדֶשׁ (*my holy things* [God's holy things]) provide further evidence for the awareness of context. That is to say, the noun קֹדֶשׁ with the pronominal suffix in the 1st pers. sg. occurs only

⁵⁸ LYONS, *Law*, 171.

in Ez 22,8.26.⁵⁹ This confirms again that the scribe of Ezekiel invents new locutions by adapting older ones into new textual contexts. This observation leads us immediately to the following criterion.

c. Interaction with the Source Text

According to Lyons the interaction can take various forms, such as the re-interpretation of an earlier text, presented above under the criterion of modification (commandment turned into accusation), and the reuse of the words of earlier locutions to create a new argument (as the use of the verb בזה and the noun קדוש).⁶⁰

d. Availability of Options

As already mentioned, Ez has two ways of referring to the Sabbath: the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment (locution) and the combined form which mentions the new moons. Ez 22,8 presupposes a conscious and creative (re)use of the shorter form of the Sabbath commandment in Lev 19,3b.30a; 26,2 and Ex 31,13.14. Moreover, not only the Sabbath locution but also its ideological background in Ex 31 was reused and reinterpreted, against the background of holy–profane dichotomy and, possibly, of the covenant.

Ez 22,26

כַּהֲנָיִם הִקְסוּ תוֹרָתִי	Its priests have done violence to my teaching
וַיְחַלְלוּ קִדְשֵׁי	and have profaned my holy things;
בֵּין־קֹדֶשׁ לְחֵלֶל לֹא הִבְדִּילוּ	they have made no distinction between the
	holy and the common,
וּבֵין־הַטְּמֵא לְטָהוֹר לֹא הוֹדִיעוּ	neither have they taught the difference between
	the unclean and the clean,
וּמִשְׁבֹּתוֹתַי הֶעְלִימוּ עֵינֵיהֶם	and they have <i>disregarded my Sabbaths</i> ,
וְאֶחָל בְּתוֹכָם	<i>so that I am profaned among them.</i>

Ez 22,26 is embedded into the third oracle of judgment in 22,23-32, on the uncleanness of the land of Israel and its leaders, as part of a series of accusations addressed solely to the priests. After the introductory formula (v. 23) an address to the unclean land follows (v. 24). The rest of the oracle lists the transgressions of different groups: princes (v. 25), priests (v. 26), officials (v. 27), prophets (v.

⁵⁹ The profanation of God's holy name occurs three times in H (Lev 20,3; 22,2.32), and nine times in Ez (20,39; 36,20.21.22; 39,7 [twice].25; 43,7.8)

⁶⁰ Cf. LYONS, *Law*, 73.

28), and the people of the land (v. 29). These groups include all social classes from the leaders to common people. There is no one among the people of Israel who would be able to stand before God on behalf of the community (v. 30),⁶¹ therefore the divine punishment is inevitable (v. 31). The Sabbath locution is part of the accusation against the priests. Their transgressions include the violation of God's teaching (or law) and profanation of God's holy things. The rest of the verse elaborates the nature of these two major accusations: they failed to make distinction between the holy and the profane; they have not taught the difference between unclean and clean, and they have disregarded God's Sabbaths. As a consequence God Himself is profaned. This verse displays thematic and literary correspondences to the previous Sabbath references attested in Ez as well as in H. Therefore, the examination of the literary and thematic correspondences between Ez 22,26 and H is legitimate. Again, the literary relationship will be analyzed based on Lyons' two sets of criteria, starting with the criteria used to determine the direction of literary dependence.

a. Modification

Similarly to Ez 20,13.16.21.24; 22,8, the Sabbath locution is presented as an accusation, but at this time it is addressed exclusively to the priests. The formulation diverges from the accusations already mentioned:



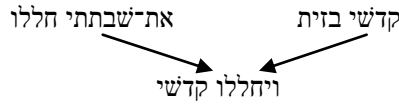
 את־שבתתי תשמרו את־שבתתי הלימו עיניהם

As argued above, in the case of Ez 20 the accusation את־שבתתי חללו is created by a redactor from the shorter form the Sabbath commandment in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 and Ex 31,13.14. This is suggested by the fact that this accusation occurs exclusively in the book of Ezekiel. Beside the common technique of creating an accusation out of a H locution we may also remark a literary link between the Sabbath accusations in Ez.

Here we encounter again the creativity of the redactor. Instead of the usual formula (את־שבתתי חללו), we have here a new one, most likely dependent on the previous accusations. The following redactional techniques are applied to create a completely new accusation: (1) change of verbs: שמר (H) – חלל (Ez 20; 22) – עלם (Ez 22,26). More precisely, the idiom העלימו עיניהם (lit. *they hid their eyes*) is used to express the refusal to observe the Sabbaths. (2) Combination of locutions: most likely, את־שבתתי חללו (Ez 20,13.16.21.24; 22,8b) and קדשי בזית (Ez 22,8a) are combined here. In the case of Ez 22,8, I have pointed out that the use of the noun קדש with a possessive pronoun in the 1st person is attested only in Ez 22,8

⁶¹ ODELL has suggested that v. 30 alludes to Jer 5,1 (*Ezekiel*, 290).

and 22,26. Hence, Ez 22,26 opens with a summary of the accusation addressed to the priests (the violence against the law /teaching and the profanation of God's holy things). The second part of the accusation, ויחללו קדשי, combines two locutions attested exclusively in Ezekiel:



This combination might have led to the creation of a new form of the Sabbath accusation: ומשבתי העלימו עיניהם, albeit the ideological stance behind it agrees with the one known from Ez 20 and 22,8.⁶² The Sabbath has again an emphatic position, as it is mentioned by name next to more general charges. The two other accusations (making no distinction between holy and common; not teaching the difference between clean and unclean), and the implicit profanation of God, contribute to the interpretation of the Sabbath in terms of holy–profane. Lyons refers to these accusations as H locutions (Lev 10,10; 20,25; 22,15) turned into accusation.⁶³

b. Combination and Conflation

Ez 22,26 includes two general accusations: the violation of the divine teaching or law (תורה) and the accusation of profaning God's holy things (קדש). The Sabbath accusation is one major example of this failure. As mentioned, v. 26 may reflect a conflation of different locutions: the Sabbath locution of Lev 19; 26 and Ex 31, the Sabbath accusation of Ez 20; 22 and the parallel accusations in Ez 22,8. At the same time, Ez 22,26 includes a further conflation: the two other charges mentioned next to the Sabbath accusation draw on Lev 10,10; 11,47; 14,57 and Lev 20,25.⁶⁴

c. Conceptual Dependence

The above-mentioned modifications and conflations confirm the conceptual dependence of Ez 22,26 on the Sabbath locutions of H and on Ez 20; 22. The only idiom that needs to be mentioned here is that on the rejection of the Sabbath, מן עלם עין. This idiom is used altogether nine times in the Hebrew Bible: Lev 4,13; 20,4; Num 5,13; 1 Sam 12,3; Job 28,21; Prov 28,27; Isa 1,15; Ez 22,26. In all cases it expresses condemnation or rejection. God's law as subject of

⁶² For instance, the understanding the Sabbath in the terms of holy–profane.

⁶³ LYONS, *Law*, 114

⁶⁴ LYONS, *Law*, 96, 175.

rejection, however, is attested only in Lev 4,13; 20,4 and Ez 22,26. Therefore, the idiom may be another example for Ez's conceptual dependence on Lev, especially on H.

In the second part of this discussion I turn to the purposeful use of these locutions.

d. Awareness of Context

The awareness of context is proved by different observations: (1) the use and reuse of the locutions in H and in Ez 20; 22; (2) the combined use of the three accusations (Sabbath, holy–profane, clean–unclean), which are basically transformed H locutions; (3) the application of the idiom מן עלם עין with the term שבתתי, and (4) the interpretation of the Sabbath in the light of the holy–profane dichotomy.⁶⁵

e. Interaction with the Source Text

Various forms of interaction are detectable here – the reinterpretation of the locutions and their transformations into accusations; the reuse of terms of earlier locutions as well as of accusations with the purpose of creating a new argument and accusation. In this way, the Sabbath accusation is presented as a transgression committed by the priestly class.

a. Availability of Options

The redactor / scribe of Ez 22,26 was obviously aware of the form of Sabbath accusation, as it occurs not only in Ez 20; 23; but also 22,8 (see the use of the term יקדשי). The two ways to refer the Sabbath in Ez are mentioned several times throughout the present discussion (Sabbath accusation / locution and the combined form with the new moons).

To conclude, the creativity of Ezekiel in the use of the Sabbath locutions and accusations is demonstrated again. In Ez 22,26, however, the accusation has a new shape, which serves its better integration into the context of the oracle. Accordingly, the Sabbath accusation also receives a new interpretation, as it refers to a fundamental priestly duty. The priests failed to observe the Sabbath, next to the other essential obligations, and this led to the profanation of God among His chosen people. The priestly failure added to the transgressions of

⁶⁵ Moshe GREENBERG has assumed that the whole oracle was composed for its present context: a well elaborated recapitulation of the earlier themes and motifs. *Ezekiel 21–37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1997, 459.

other members of the society and brought about the divine punishment described in Ez 22,31.

Ez 23,38 and the Holiness Code

The larger context of Ez 23,38 is God’s first person metaphorical account of the common history with Israel (ch. 23).⁶⁶ Ez 23 is composed of three units: God’s marriage to Oholah (Samaria) and Oholibah (Jerusalem) (vv. 1-21), God’s judgment against Oholibah (vv. 22-35), and the instructions to Ezekiel to make known and judge the abominations of the sisters (vv. 36-49). This chapter displays thematic and literary correspondences with the earlier chapters (e.g. Ez 16,2⁶⁷; 20,4; 22,2 contain the same instructions to Ezekiel).⁶⁸ Similarly to Ez 22,26, the context of Ez 23,38 voices the divine judgment on Oholah and Oholibah (vv. 36-49). The presentation of the judgment falls outside the scope of the present discussion; nevertheless, the immediate context in which the Sabbath locution is embedded requires our attention.⁶⁹

A closer examination of vv. 36-49 shows that the immediate context of the Sabbath locutions, vv. 36-39, includes two parallel units:

v. 36a: introduction: the address to the prophet	
v. 36b: abominable deeds: v. 37a: adultery v. 37b: blood on their hands	v. 38a: deeds (against God): v. 38b: defile of the sanctuary v. 38c: profanation of the Sabbaths
v. 37c: adultery: committed with idols v. 37d: blood: child-sacrifice for the idols	v. 39a: child-sacrifice for the idols v. 39b: profanation of the sanctuary
v. 39c: summary of the transgressions	

This comparison allows some observations:

⁶⁶ Cf. Ez 16 and 20.

⁶⁷ The whole chapter 16 presents Jerusalem as God’s faithless wife. Vv. 46-58 mention Samaria as the older sister, together with Sodom as the younger sister.

⁶⁸ ODELL, *Ezekiel*, 297.

⁶⁹ ODELL calls this section a “reprise”, since it summarises the whole ch. 23. She also suggests that this unit might be a secondary reworking of earlier motifs and themes of Ez 16 (child sacrifice), 20 (violation of the Sabbath). *Ezekiel*, 305.

1. The first unit reflects a well-structured parallelism: v. 37a v. 37b // v. 37c v. 37d.⁷⁰ Each transgression has an extended counterpart, meant to provide an interpretation (e.g., adultery => adultery with idols; blood on the hands => blood on the hands caused by the child sacrifice to the idols).⁷¹

2. The second unit is also designed to follow the structure of the first unit. This attempt, however, reflects some incongruity given the fact that the scribe / redactor had to fulfill two main tasks: first, a locution in H had to be transformed into an accusation; second, this accusation had to be designed according to the pattern of the first unit; and third, this accusation had to be integrated into its new thematic and literary context. In order to fulfill this threefold requirement, our scribe applied different redaction techniques that will be presented in the following, together with Lyons' two sets of criteria. The criteria meant to determine the directionality of the literary relationship are discussed first.

a. Modification

Lyons assumes that Ez 23,38 was taken from Lev 19,30 and 26,2,⁷² a position to which I fully subscribe. Hence, I will provide further evidence for the argument. I find it however important to discuss v. 38 together with v. 39 because they contain the reused locution from Lev 19,30; 26,2.

The first striking modification is again the transformation of the locution into an accusation. This requires no further discussion. It should be noted, however, that over against the previous cases, this time both locutions were taken over:



⁷⁰ Schematized as: a₁ a₂ // a₁ a₂. Cf. Wilfred G. E. WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry* (JSOTSup 26), Sheffield: JSOT Press, ²1986, 117. This rhythm corresponds to that of the entire book, described as “slightly rhythmic prose” by ALBERTZ, *Israel*, 346.

⁷¹ This patterns reflects similarities to the so-called “staircase parallelism” presented by WATSON, which includes the repeated, the intervening, and the complementary element (*Hebrew Poetry*, 150).

⁷² LYONS, *Law*, 64, 114, 172, 174.

V. 38 takes over both H locutions and transforms them into an accusation in reversed order. The accusations in vv. 38-39 are most likely meant to complement vv. 36-37. This function might have prompted the scribe / redactor to follow the structure of vv. 36-37 and to create a link at the level of the content. The endeavor to create a thematic link between vv. 36-37 and vv. 38-39 is detectable in many ways.

Firstly, it is striking that the accusation concerning the sanctuary is expressed in two different ways: with the verb טמא (v. 38), and the verb הלל (v. 39). In this way, the sanctuary is defined in terms of clean–unclean in v. 38, and in terms of holy–profane in v. 39. Further, as already mentioned, the verb הלל as accusation against the failure to observe the Sabbath is recurrent in Ez. It should also be noted, however, that מקדשי (*my sanctuaries*) in accusations expressed by the verb הלל occurs four times (Ez 8,6; 23,39; 24,21; 25,3), while the verb טמא occurs only twice (Ez 5,11; 23,38). Consequently, we cannot speak of the creation of new word-pairs in the present case. Nonetheless, the conscious alteration of verbs seems to be defensible.

Secondly, the thematic link between the two units is created by adding ביום ההוא (*on the same day*) to the accusations concerning the sanctuary (vv. 38-39), and the reference to child-sacrifice in v. 39. Accordingly, the sanctuary is defiled and profaned because “the sisters” entered into it on the same day when they had offered their sons to their idols (הםגלילי, cf. 20,16.24). As a consequence, the accusation concerning the sanctuary suits perfectly into its context, however, the same cannot be said about the Sabbaths. The term שבת is applied in plural, and this prevents its appropriate integration into its context that emphasizes that they have entered into the sanctuary on *the same day* when they offered up their children to the idols. The second time the Sabbaths are not even mentioned, as we would expect, instead we have a reference to child sacrifice.

In brief, regarding the modifications we can argue that the accusation concerning the sanctuary suits perfectly into its new context, while the accusation concerning the Sabbath is rather loosely integrated.

b. Incongruity

I highlighted above the techniques used by the scribe / redactor to integrate the locutions on the sanctuary and the Sabbath into Ez 23. The criterion of incongruity is reflected by the loose or inadequate integration of the Sabbath locution into Ez 23,38.

c. Conceptual Dependence

The criterion is traceable in the use of the verbs הלל and טמא in reference to the sanctuary. Again, the Sabbath is interpreted in terms of holy–profane. In the case of the sanctuary, the situation is more complex: on the one hand, it is presented in terms of clean–unclean due to the verb טמא (v. 38) and on the other, in terms of holy–profane, as it uses the verb הלל (v. 39). None of these verbs, however, can be used as an appropriate antonym for the verb ירא in Lev 19,30 and 26,2. Thus, in my view, the verbs in Ez 23 might have served the better integration of the locutions (sanctuary and Sabbath) into their new literary context.

d. Interpretive Expansion

The entire v. 39 can be considered as an interpretive expansion since it is designed to explain the way whereby the sanctuary is defiled / profaned. As noted already, this interpretive expansion draws on the previous section in vv. 36-37. The addition of the ביום ההוא in vv. 38-39 is an example of smaller interpretive expansion.

e. Combination and Conflation

A nice example of combination and conflation is the application of the accusation of defilement the sanctuary together with the profanation of the Sabbaths and the child-sacrifice to the idols.

I now turn to the second set of criteria reflecting the purposeful use of the H locutions:

a. Frequency and Distribution of the Locution

The Sabbath accusation occurs frequently (ten times) in Ez. One of the most significant contexts of these locutions is Ez 20, but they are found in the entire book. The present occurrence also attests the significance of the profanation of the Sabbaths in the ideological considerations of Ez.

b. Awareness of the context

Lyons mentions Ez 23,38-39 among his examples of legal citation.⁷³ He also claims that with the citations of the laws the scribe / redactor intended to reveal how the people of Israel ignored those commandments.⁷⁴ At the same time, these citations point to the scribes' awareness of the use of the locutions as

⁷³ Cf. LEVITT KOHN, *New Heart*, 78.

⁷⁴ LYONS, *Law*, 77.

well as the contexts of these locutions. In the case of the Sabbath locution, the awareness of the context is obvious.

c. Interaction with the Source Text

Different forms of interaction are noticeable in Ez 23,38-39. The reuse of the laws (locutions) in accusations is one of the most striking examples. Further relevant examples are the two forms of the accusation about the transgressions against the sanctuary, which lead to two different interpretation of the sanctuary. Thus, both locutions (concerning the Sabbaths and the sanctuaries) receive special attention in the context of Ez 23.

d. Availability of Options

The redactor / scribe was most likely aware of the earlier forms of accusation recurrent in the book since he choses to apply exactly the same accusation as Ez 20; 22, i.e., הללו את־שבתי.

In sum, I have shown above the endeavor of the scribe(s) / redactor(s) of Ez 23,38-39 to integrate two commandments into the context of the oracle of judgment. This difficult task required a lot of creativity. He (they) used the technique of legal citation to transform the commandments of Lev into accusations. He (they) succeeded to integrate, though not fully, the two locutions into the new context: on the structural level by following the structure of the previous passage (vv. 36-37) and on the level of content by creating thematic links between the sections. These locutions had to be adapted to the message or the ideological stance of the entire oracle in Ez 23, i.e., both locutions were embedded into God's speech to the two unfaithful communities (Jerusalem and Samaria).

Ez 44,24 and the Holiness Code

וְאֶת־עַמִּי יִוְרוּ בֵּין קֹדֶשׁ לְחָל

וּבֵין־טָמֵא לְטָהוֹר יִוְדְעוּם

וְעַל־רִיב הִמָּה יַעֲמְדוּ לְשֹׁפֵט בְּמִשְׁפָּטֵי וְשֹׁפְטֵהוּ

וְאֶת־תּוֹרֹתַי וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתַי בְּכָל־מוֹעֲדַי יִשְׁמְרוּ

וְאֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתַי יִקְדְּשׁוּ

²³They shall teach my people the difference between the holy and the common, and show them how to distinguish between the unclean and the clean.

²⁴In a lawsuit they shall stand as judges, and they shall decide them according to my judgments.

They shall keep my laws and my statutes regarding all my appointed festivals, and they shall keep my Sabbaths holy / they shall hallow my Sabbaths.

Ez 44,23-24 belongs to a section which summarizes the responsibilities of the Levitical priesthood (vv. 15-31).⁷⁵ I quote both verses because they belong together in terms of content. The literary and thematic overlap between Ez 44,23-24 and Ez 22,26 confirms my decision. The responsibilities of the priests take up those in Ez 22,26, with the additional duty to act as judges in legal disputes and to keep the cultic calendar.

The reference to God's Sabbaths in v. 24 diverges from the other references in Ez because it is not formulated as an accusation. In that it comes closer to Ez 20,20, which also uses קדש. Nevertheless, the literary connections with the previous references in Ez and in H (Lev 19,3.30; 26,2; Ex 31,13) are clear, as the Sabbath is referred to as God's property: שבתתי (*my Sabbaths*).⁷⁶ The literary connections with the other forms of the Sabbath commandment (*core commandment*) should also be emphasized, especially those with Dt 5,12 and Ex 20,8.11, which also use קדש.

In the following, I examine Ez 44,24 against Lyons' two sets of criteria. Firstly, I look at the criteria designed to determine the direction of dependency.

a. Modifications

Two examples of modification need to be mentioned here: (1) the change of verbs (קדש instead of שמר in H) and (2) the adaptation to the context (the verb שמר occurs in the 2nd person pl. while קדש in the 3rd person pl.). The verb שמר is applied to the cultic calendar, and demands that the appointed festivals be observed. As already mentioned, Ez 44,23-24 contains some additional elements compared to Ez 22,26: priests act as judges and they have to observe the festivals. Thus, שמר is used for the festivals and קדש for the Sabbath. These may be intentional changes resulting from different understandings of the Sabbath or from the intention to create a distinction between the festivals and Sabbaths.

b. Conceptual Dependence and Interpretative Expansion

Ez 44,24 reflects a conceptual dependence not only on Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 (את-שבתתי) but also on Ex 20,8.11 and Dt 5,12 (and possibly Gen 2,3 and Ex 31,14), in view of the verb קדש. Obviously, the Sabbath locution in H (את-שבתתי) is separated here, i.e., שמר is added to the commandment concerning the festivals, whereas the Sabbath commandment receives the verb קדש. Therefore

⁷⁵ The larger context, Ez 40-48, includes the vision of restoration, i.e., the fundamental reform of the cult and of the social structure. ALBERTZ, *Israel*, 368-370.

⁷⁶ This reference is attested only in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2; Ex 31,13; Ez 20,12.13.16.20.21.24; 22,8.26; 23,38; 44,24 and once in Isa 56,4.

שָׁקַד can be considered an interpretative expansion and indicates that Ez 44,24 has important thematic and linguistic connections with the passages listed above.

I now turn to the criteria for determining the purposeful use:

a. Availability of Options

The scribe was aware of the available options, - the Sabbath commandment in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2 and most probably, the Sabbath accusations in Ez 20; 22; 23. Nevertheless, he chose a third option and created a new Sabbath commandment using the verb שָׁקַד. This option might have been inspired by Gen 2,3; Ex 20,8.11; 31,14 and Dt 5,12.

b. Interaction with the Source Text

Lyons mentions three possible forms of interaction (a) the interpretation of earlier texts, using the verb שָׁקַד for the Sabbath commandment; (b) the use of earlier texts as basis for a new argument, e.g., the accusation in Ez 22,26 occurs here as a summary of priestly duties, and (c) the reuse of words of earlier texts to create a new argument, e.g., שָׁמֵר is used as a technical term in the Sabbath commandment, while here it is applied to the festivals.⁷⁷

To sum up, Ez 44,24 represents a new form of the Sabbath locutions. As opposed to the previous passages in Ezekiel, 44,24 includes a Sabbath commandment with striking similarities to those attested in Ex 20,8.11 and Dt 5,12, which belong to the so-called core commandment group or the longer form of the Sabbath commandments. The analysis of this literary connection goes beyond the purpose of the present research; here it is enough to point out the literary connection between these two forms of the Sabbath commandment. It should also be noted that Ez 44,24 is not the only passage which reflects awareness of these two forms of the Sabbath commandments. I have noted earlier that Ex 31,12-17 also includes both forms, being a collection of Sabbath commandments.

Conclusions

In this analysis of the references to the Sabbath in the book of Ezekiel I have focused on the literary and thematic relationship between the Sabbath references (locutions) in Ezekiel and those in Lev 19,3.30; 26,2; Ex 31,13.14. The criteria developed by Lyons to describe the literary dependence between Ezekiel and H allow me to formulate some conclusions.

⁷⁷ LYONS, *Law*, 73.

The Sabbath commandment / locution attested in H (את־שבתתי תשמרו) was used in different parts of the book of Ezekiel. Admittedly, H and Ez reflect different literary settings, rhetorical goals and ideological tendencies; therefore, these locutions have been used in different ways, which involved the transformations of literary form, addressee and time.⁷⁸

The most remarkable transformation concerns the literary form of the Sabbath commandment from H, most probably under the influence of Ex 31,13-14. (1) Ezekiel transformed the commandment into a prophetic accusation, recurring in key passages where God recalls the history of His relationship to Israel (20,13.16.21.24; 22,8.26; 23,38-39). (2) These accusations explain the divine punishment. (3) Ez 44,24 is the only exception, since it is not an accusation, but it summarizes the duties of the priests, including the hallowing of God's Sabbaths.

The transformation of the addressee is a further example for the reuse of the Sabbath locution from H. Lev 19; 26 and Ex 31 follow the literary genre of commandments and their addressee is therefore the people of Israel in the 2nd person plural. In Ez we have different addressees, and accordingly, different persons and numbers. For instance, Ez 20 includes the Sabbath accusations against the two wilderness generations in the 3rd person plural. Ez 22,8 has the Sabbath accusation against Jerusalem, the bloody city, in the second person singular. Ez 22,26 accuses the priests who have failed to obey the priestly obligations, including the Sabbaths. In Ez 23,38 the addressees are the two sinful communities in the 3rd person pl. (Samaria and Jerusalem). Finally, Ez 44,24 belongs to the instructions given to the priests, formulated in the 3rd person plural.

The transformation of the literary form and addressee inevitably involves temporal transformations. While in virtue of its genre the Sabbath commandment is directed to the present and future generations (regulation concerning the future), the Sabbath accusations are addressed to the past and present generations (accusation with respect to past events). Ez 20 is a remarkable example of temporal transformation; it not only voices a Sabbath accusation (vv. 13, 16, 21, 24) but it also evokes the giving of the Sabbath to Israel (vv. 12, 20 cf. Ex 31,13). Ez 44,24, as a counterpart of Ez 22,26, is another important example of temporal transformation. As part of Ez's vision of restoration it summarizes the obligations of the priests with respect to the future (the restored Israel). These duties, however, are mentioned within the accusation addressed to priests in Ez 22,26.

Lyons assumes that Ez relies on the Holiness Code in order to provide a theological interpretation for the Babylonian exile; it envisages a hope for the

⁷⁸ LYONS, *Law*, 144–145.

future and at the same time it attempts to shape the identity of the community.⁷⁹ Accordingly, the legal material of H is transformed into prophecy in three ways: (a) laws are turned into accusations, (b) the conditional covenant threats of Lev 26 are transformed into descriptions of punishments, and (c) the conditional covenant blessings of Lev 26 are turned into future, unconditional blessings of the new relationship.⁸⁰ The first procedure is particularly interesting for the present discussion since in most the cases the Sabbath locution of H is transformed into prophetic accusation. It should also be noted that the Sabbath accusations are mentioned together with other severe transgressions that brought about divine punishments time and again. Those punishments, however, followed the same dynamics, namely, breaking and restoring the covenant (e.g., Ez 20; 22; 23). Consequently, the Sabbath accusation, just as the other prophetic accusations, served to create a causal connection between Israel's attitude towards the laws of the covenant (neglecting or profaning them) and the exile. This explanation stresses the responsibility of Israel: they have failed to follow the regulations, commandments and laws of H.⁸¹

Developing this train of thought, Ezekiel, especially ch. 20 displays the radical reconceptualization of the notion of the Sabbath, which includes already a reinterpretation of the history of Israel in which the violation of the Sabbath commandment occupies a central position. This recontextualization is most likely carried out on the basis of the covenantal understanding the Sabbaths, as sign between God and Israel (a perspective attested otherwise merely four times in the Hebrew Bible, in Ex 31,13.17 and Ez 20,12.20).

⁷⁹ LYONS, *Law*, 146, 153–157. Lyons builds this observation on Michael A. FISHBANE's idea of "continuity or survival of the traditions from one historical epoch to another" (*Biblical interpretation in Ancient Israel*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 409). See also Fishbane's discussion of "inner-biblical aggadic exegesis" (*Biblical interpretation*, 281–283, 408–419 cf. Id., "Inner-Biblical Exegesis," in Magne Saebø ed., *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation 1*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, 34–35; Id., "Revelation and Tradition: Aspects of Inner-Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 1/3 (1980), 343; Id., "The Hebrew Bible and Exegetical Tradition," in Johannes C. de Moor ed., *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1998, 18.). On the theological function of Ezekiel see also Thomas RENZ, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 1999, 229–234; WONG, *Retribution*, 117–119 (referring only to Lev 26!). Similarly, KOHN argues that Ezekiel analyzed the past in order to interpret the exile. In doing so, he relied on the legislative material identified as P and D by modern scholars (*New Heart*, 107).

⁸⁰ LYONS, *Law*, 149.

⁸¹ Cf. LYONS, *Law*, 149–150; RENZ, *Rhetorical Function*, 143–144; FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation*, 408–409.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the function of the Sabbath accusations within the theological and ideological framework of the book of Ezekiel. In my view, the Sabbath references contribute to Ezekiel's strategy to interpret the notion of exile. According to Lyons and Rom-Shiloni, this strategy aims to shape the identity of the exiled groups by a "reconstruction of history."⁸² Ezekiel's activity fits with the general view that the exilic and postexilic periods largely contributed to the development of the Israelite religion and formation of the Hebrew Bible.⁸³ This is particularly true for prophetic literature, which used existing traditions to develop a theological answer to the experience of the exilic crisis.⁸⁴ At this point, it has to be stressed that the exile as such has already become part of a certain ideology or a symbol of a period considered in terms of punishment, consolation and promise.⁸⁵ Therefore, the Sabbath accusations, just

⁸² LYONS, *Law*, 153. He follows here Daniel L. SMITH-CHRISTOPHER, *A Biblical Theology of Exile*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002, 80ff. and Hilde LINDEMANN NELSON, *Damaged Identities, Narrative Repair*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001, 67, 157–164. Dalit ROM-SHILONI, "Ezekiel as the Voice of the Exiles and Constructor of Exilic Ideology," in *Hebrew Union College Annual 76* (2005) 1–45; Reinhard G. KRATZ, "The Relation between History and Thought: Reflections on the Subtitle of Peter Ackroyd's *Exile and Restoration*," in Gary N. KNOPPERS, Lester L. GRABBE, Deirdre N. FULTON (eds.), *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd*, London: T & T Clark, 2009, 152–165 (154–156). Kratz focused on the tension between history and historiography arguing that "the biblical authors were not aware of this difference [between history and thought] and, therefore, present their thought as history." Kratz interprets here Peter R. ACKROYD's distinction between (historical) events and thoughts (*Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968, 14) as well as Erhard BLUM's idea about Israelite narration as the actualization of Israel's history for its own community ("Historiographie oder Dichtung? Zur Eigenart alttestamentlicher Geschichtsschreibung," in Erhard BLUM, William JOHNSTONE, Christoph MARKSCHIES (eds.), *Das Alte Testament – Ein Geschichtsbuch? Beiträge des Symposiums 'Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne' anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901–1971)*, Heidelberg, 21. Oktober 2001 (Altes Testament und Moderne 10), Münster: LIT, 65–86).

⁸³ ACKROYD, *Exile*, 43–49; 103–117. He carefully distinguishes between historical facts and tradition, stressing the need to focus on the thought, rather than on events (history). Here the thought is the prophetic attitude towards the exile (*Exile and Restoration*, 14, 44). Cf. KRATZ, "Relation", 153; FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation*, 413.

⁸⁴ See RENZ, *Rhetorical Function*, 199, 229; Ellen DAVIES, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy* (JSOTSup 78), Sheffield: Almond, 1989, 73.

⁸⁵ KRATZ, "Relation", 161.

as the entire book, are not a reaction to immediate historical events, but rather the outcome of theological thinking influenced by historical events.⁸⁶ I agree with Kratz who argues that “[t]he handling of the exile is not therefore solely a problem of historical reconstruction; it is a matter of attempting to understand an attitude, or more properly a variety of attitudes, taken up towards that historical fact.”⁸⁷ As a consequence, it is particularly important to focus on the literary development of the Sabbath references, but also to bring them into a “relative chronology.”⁸⁸ As far as their literary history is concerned, the Sabbath locutions were explored here within such a relative chronology.

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⁸⁶ ACKROYD stresses that we have to focus on the whole corpus of Ezekiel, i.e., “its attitude to the exile and its understanding of restoration” (*Exile*, 103).

⁸⁷ KRATZ, “Relation”, 162.

⁸⁸ The term “relative chronology” is borrowed from KRATZ, who argues that the literary history of the texts, ideologies or theological tendencies has to be differentiated and discussed within the framework of relative chronology (“Relation”, 161; cf. ID., “Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate,” in Thomas B. DOZEMAN, Konrad SCHMID, Baruch J. SCHWARTZ (eds.), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (Fortschreibung zum Alten Testament 78), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011, 31–61, 51, 53, 58–59.

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ABIDING IN LIFE: THE FUNCTIONALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH GOD IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

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Abstract. The concept of abiding underlines the unity between the believers and the members of the divine family as the quality of eternal life. John uses a complex form of this metaphor by depicting a threefold union between the believers, Jesus and God: the believers abide in Jesus, who abides in God. The metaphorical perception of this unity reflects on the functionality of the relation between God, Jesus and human beings; this is uncovered by an analysis that uses the insights of cognitive linguistics.

Keywords: Gospel of John, metaphor, cognitive linguistics, abiding, love, relation, eternal life.

Introduction

The concept of abiding in the Gospel of John² has been analysed by several scholars, but by using the insights of cognitive linguistics we may be able to extend our understanding of it or, at least, see it more clearly.

There are several instances where earthly life is conceived as presence on earth (1,9-11.14; 12,35 – to mention only a few). The metaphor *life is presence here*³ perceives earthly life as a bounded region, the space where human beings are in.⁴ From the presence on earth, the believers move to the *presence* in the

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² For the place and composition of the Gospel, see, among others, Raymond E. BROWN, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John* (ABRL), New York: Doubleday, 2003; Rudolf BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (ed. R. W. N. HOARE, J. K. RICHES, trans. G. R. BEASLEY-MURRAY), Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971; Barnabas LINDARS (ed.), *The Gospel of John* (NCB), London: Oliphants, 1972; R. Alan CULPEPPER, *The Gospel and Letters of John* (IBT), Nashville: Abingdon, 1998; Paul N. ANDERSON, *The Riddles of the Fourth Gospel: An Introduction to John*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2011, 95–124.

³ The statements like LIFE IS PRESENCE HERE are artificial constructions that express how the idea of life is conceived in a text; they are not linguistic expressions found in the text. See George LAKOFF, Mark JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

⁴ George LAKOFF, Mark TURNER, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, 98.

family of God (3,3.5). Because of this conception of life, it is possible that eternal life is elaborated by the metaphors *being in love* or *abiding in Jesus* that perceive abstract concepts and even the person of Jesus and God as containers. Via the Great Chain Metaphor we understand that divine characteristics and behaviour are described through human characteristics and behaviour. life is being present here is combined with the Great Chain Metaphor, and thus, eternal life can be described in terms of human categories and can be seen as being in God or in the love of God.

Relation between the Container and the Contained

The Fourth Gospel centres on the idea that those who believe in Jesus receive life and this life is partaking in the life of God in unity with the Father and the Son. The special union between the Father, Jesus and the believers is depicted in the image of the vine and the gardener in 15,1-8:

Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινὴ
καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν. (15,1)

I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinegrower.⁵

μείνατε ἐν ἐμοί,
καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν.
καθὼς τὸ κλήμα οὐ δύναται καρπὸν φέρειν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ
ἐὰν μὴ μένη ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ,
οὕτως οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς
ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένητε. (15,4)

Abide in me as I abide in you. Just as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it abides in the vine, neither can you unless you abide in me.

The metaphor of the gardener, vine and branches is an agrarian metaphor⁶ that similarly to the water image (4,14) reveals God's life-giving

⁵ The translation is taken from the NRSV.

⁶ CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 213: "The grapevine and the vineyard often symbolize the fruitfulness of the land in the Old Testament, so it was a short step for the vine to become a symbol for Israel." CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 214, points out that in Sir 24,17-19 wisdom "likens herself to a vine," and concludes that "because the wisdom tradition exerted a formative influence on John's Christology, the use of the image of the vine in that context provides a key to understanding John's use of this image. It is only a short step from the use of the image of the vine to depict Wisdom to its association with the Messiah. [...] The striking feature of the symbolism of the vine in John 15 is that it

power as well as the idea that life is linked to God and Jesus; apart from God that is the source of life, there is only death. God as the gardener assures prosperity by providing opportunity for people who link with Jesus.⁷ Mary Magdalene confuses Jesus with the gardener in 20,15. The picture is symbolic: those who abide in Jesus have life. The relational aspect of eternal life in the Gospel of John is emphasized via the metaphors of abiding. The *be in*-formulas (Immanenzformeln) describe that Jesus is in God and God is in Jesus; those who abide in Jesus will also be in Jesus and God (6,56; 10,38; 14,10-11.20; 15,4-5.7; 17,21.23.26).⁸ Here human beings, Jesus, but also God is perceived as containers.⁹ life is being present here is combined with the Great Chain Metaphor. Jesus and God are perceived as containers in which another entity, another person, is kept:

ἵνα γινώτε καὶ γινώσκητε
ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ
καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. (10,38c)

so that you may know and understand that the Father is in me and I am in the Father.

If we consider the Great Chain Metaphor described by Lakoff and Turner,¹⁰ we can see that the metaphor of abiding does not only disclose a very close unity between God and Jesus, but it also reveals the characteristics of this relationship. The Great Chain Metaphor is actually a complex ensemble consisting of four parts: the Great Chain cultural model, the Nature of Things theory, the generic is specific metaphor and the Maxim of Quantity principle. All these parts are needed in conceiving a higher order being in terms of a lower order being or the other way around. The Great Chain is a cultural model

ceases to represent Israel and takes on Christological significance. It represents Jesus himself. Whereas one's salvation had depended on identity with Israel, the people of God, Jesus declares that life depends on abiding in him."

⁷ Craig R. KOESTER, *The Word of Life: A Theology of John's Gospel*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008, 39; Jerome H. NEYREY, *The Gospel of John* (NCBiC), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 253–261.

⁸ Barclay M. NEWMAN, Eugene A. NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of John* (HeTr), London: United Bible Societies, 1980, 209: μένω, *remain* is a very important term for John that indicates the relationship between the Father and the Son, but also the believers and the Son.

⁹ See LAKOFF, JOHNSON, *Metaphors We Live By*, 29–30, for container metaphors.

¹⁰ See the whole description of the Great Chain Metaphor in LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 160–213.

that consists of a vertical scale on which higher order beings and lower order beings are placed; naturally it also includes the scale of the properties that characterize these beings.¹¹ The Nature of Things theory links these properties to certain behaviour.¹² The generic is specific metaphor “maps a single specific-level schema onto an indefinitely large number of parallel specific-level schemas that all have the same generic-level structure as the source domain schema.”¹³ Thus, it “allows us to understand a whole category of situations in terms of one particular situation.”¹⁴ The Maxim of Quantity communicative principle restricts the application of properties from one domain into another; it picks up “the highest-ranking properties” defining that level.¹⁵ Via the Great Chain Metaphor we understand that higher order beings (human beings) are understood in terms of lower order beings (complex objects). The Nature of Things theory together with the Great Chain of Being helps us understand that complex objects have “structural attributes” that lead to “functional behaviour.”¹⁶ Due to the Maxim of Quantity that restricts the application of the properties, the perception of human beings as containers in which wisdom dwells has to be viewed in terms of structural attributes and functional behaviour, the “highest-ranking properties”¹⁷ of complex objects. The container and the contained together form a unit; this is a functional unity. Accordingly, if the unity of God and Jesus is perceived as a complex object, we have to think of the functional property of this relation.¹⁸ Thus *abide in me* describes

¹¹ The scale of the Great Chain of Being from the bottom to the top is as follows: natural physical things, complex objects, plants, animals and human beings – this is the basic Great Chain. The basic Great Chain can be extended to include society, God and cosmos. See LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 170–171, 204–213. Zoltán KÖVECSÉS, *Language, Mind, and Culture: A Practical Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 128, notes that in the Jewish-Christian tradition God is on the top.

¹² LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 169.

¹³ LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 162.

¹⁴ LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 165.

¹⁵ LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 173.

¹⁶ LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 171.

¹⁷ LAKOFF, TURNER, *More than Cool Reason*, 173.

¹⁸ Addressing the question of equality-subordination, ANDERSON, *Riddles*, 29, draws attention to the “rhetorical emphasis” that is “the reason the Father and Son are presented as being in relationship has to do with the agency of the Son. He is to be equated with the Father precisely because he is sent from the Father; to receive him is to receive the Father, but to reject him is to forfeit the approval of the One who sent him.”

functional unity, thinking and acting in a similar way (13,12-17; 14,23-24).¹⁹ That the container and contained switch (e.g. sometimes the text says that Jesus is in God, at other times it says that God is in Jesus) also underlines that the metaphor has to be taken as referring to functionality; *God is in Jesus* and *Jesus is in God* probably means the same that is unity in thinking and acting (5,19; 8,28-29; 10,37-38; 11,22; 14,10-11).²⁰ The Son is educated by the Father (5,19-30),²¹ he carries out the Father's will (4,34; 6,38-39; 10,25;²² 12,49-50; 14:31; 17:4.6-8; 18,11),²³ and he does this with the Father (8,28-29; 10,37-38; 14,10-11).²⁴ Thus, the Father

¹⁹ Jan G. VAN DER WATT, *Family of the King: Dynamics of Metaphor in the Gospel according to John* (BibInt 47), Leiden: Brill, 2000, 210. Charles Harold DODD, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953; repr., 1968, 194, says that "I in the Father and the Father in me," is conceived as a dynamic and not a static relation; it consists in an activity originating with the Father and manifested in the Son. It may be described as obedience to the word of the Father, or imitation of His works, but at bottom it is nothing so external as mere obedience or imitation. It is the sharing of one life, which is of course life eternal or absolute."

²⁰ CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 210–211: "the prologue affirms a metaphysical union and Jesus repeatedly affirms that he acts at the direction of the Father (a moral union). This moral union is also possible for all believers."

²¹ VAN DER WATT, *Family of the King*, 207: "Jesus' ability to give life is based on his intimate relation to the Father. [...] Jesus sees and hears (what God does) and acts accordingly because he does not seek to fulfill his own will, but the will of his Father, the one who has sent him (see 7:15-16). Consequently the Son is given ability to give life as the Father does." Nevertheless, Jesus has real authority. VAN DER WATT, *Family of the King*, 208: "The fact that Jesus can give life to whom he wants to (5:21), emphasizes the reality of the participation in the power and knowledge of the Father by Jesus (see also 3:34-35). In the same way Jesus judges in absolute accordance with the judgment of the Father (5:30), to such an extent that John can state that the Father does not judge anymore (5:22)." For the authority of Jesus, see also Jan G. VAN DER WATT, "Salvation in the Gospel according to John," in Jan G. VAN DER WATT (ed.), *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on Soteriology* (NovTSup 121), Leiden: Brill, 2005, 109-113; George R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John* (WBC 36), Waco, TX: Word, 1987, 75.

²² In 10,25-32 the unity between the Father and the Son is expressed in terms of *works*; the same holds for the believers; see Hans-Ulrich WEIDEMANN, "The Victory of Protology over Eschatology? Creation in the Gospel of John," in Tobias NICKLAS, Korinna ZAMFIR (eds.), *Theologies of Creation in Early Judaism and Ancient Christianity: In Honour of Hans Klein* (DCLS 6), Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2010, 319–320.

²³ The revelation is later continued by the Paraclete (14,26; 16,13-15). See CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 103, 213.

²⁴ Referring to 5,17 (my Father is working still and I am working), Jerome H. NEYREY, *The Gospel of John in Cultural and Rhetorical Perspective*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 180, says: "This statement functions as an apology for *not* resting on the Sabbath;

can be experienced through his actions in Jesus (5,17-30).²⁵ Whenever Christ acts and speaks, it is the action and words of the Father he communicates: ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με²⁶ (7,16b). The metaphor also expresses permanence in unity. Moreover, because of the generic is specific metaphor the particular unity of Jesus and God can be applied to the unity between Jesus and the believers:

ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ μου
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ
καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν. (14,20)

On that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you.

The metaphor resembles the Russian Matryoshka dolls which are kept in each other. The union of Jesus and God becomes present in the believers. We can also see a somewhat reverse order of the entities in each other in 17,21:

καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦσιν

As you, Father, are in me and I am in you, may they also be in us.

The container and contained are switched, thus, once again underlining the functional aspect of abiding: the believers think, behave and act in harmony with Jesus (12,25-26; 13,12-17; 14,23-24; 15,11).²⁷

and it implies that God also did *not* stop creating on the seventh day but continued working. [...] Jesus is imitating God's continued creative work by his healing on the Sabbath." WEIDEMANN, "The Victory of Protology over Eschatology?," 314, notes the link between ἔργον, and ποιέω, τελειόω in John 4,34; 5,36 and 17,4, and concludes that "the Evangelist presumably had in mind the text of Gen 2:1-3 (and in this perspective the other Old Testament passages, which speak of God's work of creation)." Accordingly, there is a "shift of the protological language-game 'completion/perfection of works' into the description of the working of the *earthly* Jesus."

²⁵ Josef BLANK, *Krisis: Untersuchungen zur johanneischen Christologie und Eschatologie*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus, 1964, 112. KOESTER, *The Word of Life*, 37, finds the image of God as a *craftsman* in John 5,17ff.

²⁶ "My teaching is not mine but his who sent me."

²⁷ Commenting on 14,23-24, CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 212, says: Jesus "is not referring either to post-Resurrection appearances or to the Parousia, but to something more vital for the Christian community: his presence and that of the Father with the community of believers through the Spirit. [...] The future eschatology of abiding with Jesus in heaven

Abide in the Love Relation of the Father and the Son

The unity in the family of God is also manifested by mutual love. John 17,22-23 links the metaphor of abiding in Jesus with love:

ἵνα ὡσιν ἓν
καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἓν·
ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς
καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί,
ἵνα ὡσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν,²⁸
ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κόσμος
ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας
καὶ ἠγάπησας αὐτοὺς
καθὼς ἐμὲ ἠγάπησας.

so that they may be one, as we are one, I in them and you in me, that they may become completely one, so that the world may know that you have sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me.

The love the text speaks of is an eternal love between the Father and the Son (3,35; 5,20; 10,17; 14,31; 15,9-10; 17,23-24).²⁹ The Father loves the Son πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου³⁰ (17,24), and the Son loves the Father (14,31: ἀλλ' ἵνα γινῶ ὁ κόσμος ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ καθὼς ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως ποιῶ³¹). This mutual, eternal love is poured out to the creation to encompass the whole humankind.³²

(14:2) has effectively been transposed into a realized eschatology: Jesus abides with us now.”

²⁸ CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 182, referring to John 10,30, says: “The Greek numeral here is neuter, not masculine; Jesus and the Father are one entity, not one person.” But the expression also points to the relation between Jesus and the Father (see above) that extends to all believers.

²⁹ NEWMAN, NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook*, 104, mentions that most scholars see no difference between ἀγαπάω and φιλέω in John. See also Craig S. KEENER, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 2 vols., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003; repr., 2012, 1:324-325. NEWMAN, NIDA, *A Translator's Handbook*, 104, also points out that “the primary focus in the biblical concept of love is always that of giving rather than of receiving.”

³⁰ “Before the foundation of the world.”

³¹ “But I do as the Father has commanded me, so that the world may know that I love the Father.”

³² See also Cornelis BENNEMA, *The Power of Saving Wisdom: An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT 2/148),

οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον,
ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν,
ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχη ζωὴν
αἰώνιον. (3,16).

For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life.

We can see the picture of the all-powerful Creator here, who loves and saves (3,16-17).³³ His love³⁴ towards the creation is so strong that He gives “his only Son”³⁵ to save the believers.³⁶

Here alone in the Fourth Gospel the love of God for the rebellious *world* is stated to be the reason for the incarnation and death of Christ [...] it is the fundamental summary of the message of this Gospel and should therefore be seen as the background of the canvas on which the rest of the Gospel is painted.³⁷

The coming of the Son into the world makes the love of the Creator God visible. Jesus’ acceptance of the suffering and cross is the fulfilment of God’s

Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002, 114, 117, who emphasizes the soteriological aspect of the love between the Father and the Son.

³³ The parallel in 3,16a/17a-16bc/17bc emphasizes God’s will to save the whole cosmos. However, only ὁ πιστεύων (3,16b) can have eternal life because salvation is found in Jesus alone.

³⁴ NEWMAN, NIDA, *A Translator’s Handbook*, 89: “In Greek, the tense of the verb loved points to a specific action in the past; that is, to God’s giving of his Son.”

³⁵ BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 51: τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν “embraces both incarnation and vicarious death.”

³⁶ KEENER, *The Gospel of John*, 1:568: “This special love from Father and Son was an early Christian conception (e.g., Rom 8:37; Gal 2:20; Eph 2:4; 5:2, 25; 2 Thess 2:16) undoubtedly treasured in John’s circle of believers (1 John 3:16; 4:10, 19; Rev 1:5; 3:9).” KEENER, *The Gospel of John*, 1:567–569, notes that the idea of the loving God also appears in the Hellenistic religion of that period, whereas the idea occurs with frequency in Jewish tradition. However, he notes that in Jewish thought God’s love is shown mostly towards the righteous or Israel, while John emphasizes the idea that God loves the whole world. We shall note that the idea that God loves all that he created appears in Wis 11,24-26 as well.

³⁷ BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 51. BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John*, 153: “The event which is brought to fulfilment in the exaltation of the Son of Man is grounded in the love of God which sent him, so that faith might receive eternal life.” Bultmann also adds: “The real miracle, therefore, is the mission of the Son, which men believe when they believe in the exaltation of the Son of Man” (*The Gospel of John*, 153).

love (10,11f). That is how love reaches the world in the person of the Son; he does not only make God's love present, but transmits this love to the believers:

καὶ ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου
καὶ γνωρίσω,
ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με ἔν αὐτοῖς ἦ
καγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς. (17,26)

I made your name known to them, and I will make it known, so that the love with which you have loved me may be in them, and I in them.

All those who believe will take part in this love-relationship of the Father and the Son. But this love-relationship also implies the extension of this love to the other believers (15,12).³⁸ This manifestation of love can be paralleled to the way the dynamics of life is pictured in 6,57 (see 14,21. 23; 16,27). Jesus' declaration in 5,42, τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,³⁹ defines the relationship with God in terms of love. Love, therefore, is also functional;⁴⁰ it is related to the mission of Jesus and that of the disciples.⁴¹

We have seen different texts related to love; one last interesting one is 15,9-10 where the metaphor life is presence here is explicitly combined with love is a container:

Καθὼς ἠγάπησέν με ὁ πατήρ,
καγὼ ὑμᾶς ἠγάπησα·
μείνατε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐμῇ.
ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολάς μου τηρήσητε,
μενεῖτε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ μου,

³⁸ ANDERSON, *Riddles*, 17: "A striking feature of Jesus' love command in the Johannine tradition is that it emphasizes loving one another as an expression of one's love for Jesus." See 13,1-11.34-35; 15,9-10.17. For the relation between love, laying down one's life, and washing of the feet, see CULPEPPER, *The Gospel*, 203–209.

³⁹ You do not have the love of God in you.

⁴⁰ Gerald L. BORCHERT, *John 12-21* (NAC 25B), Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2002, 146.

⁴¹ Jan G. VAN DER WATT, Jacobus KOK, "Violence in a Gospel of Love," in Pieter G. R. DE VILLIERS, Jan Willem VAN HENTEN (ed.), *Coping with Violence in the New Testament*, (STAR 16), Leiden: Brill, 2012, 179, say that love is "the main ethical demand in the Gospel." They explain it in the following way: "In the same way that the Father loved the world, his children should also love the world (John 3:16). The love towards people outside the Johannine community is rooted in the mission of Jesus, and, therefore, also in the missionary agenda of his followers" ("Violence in a Gospel of Love," 179).

καθὼς ἐγὼ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς μου τητήρηκα
καὶ μένω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ.

As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you; abide in my love. If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love.

The abstract concept love is viewed here as a container that one enters if he believes in Jesus. The metaphor of love is combined with life is presence here; thus, eternal life is viewed as abiding in the love of Jesus and God. Here the text links love to keeping the commandments, just as in the next verses relates friendship to obeying Jesus:

μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει,
ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.
ὕμεῖς φίλοι μου ἔστε
ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν.
οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δούλους,
ὅτι ὁ δούλος οὐκ οἶδεν τί ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος·
ὕμᾶς δὲ εἶρηκα φίλους,
ὅτι πάντα ἃ ἤκουσα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐγνώρισα ὑμῖν. (15,13-15)

No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you. I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends, because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father.

These verses relate friendship to love, unity in acting and knowledge – these characterize Jesus' intimacy with God as well (5,20).⁴² True friendship is based on virtue according to the ancient idea of friendship.⁴³ The OT states that God is the source of virtue, and thus, as the source of friendship.⁴⁴ The Johannine idea of friendship is close to both: the disciples that do what Jesus commands, so they are true friends of Jesus (see also 15,4-12). This also means

⁴² See the other references to Jesus' functional unity with God above.

⁴³ ARISTOTLE, *Eth. nic.* 8.3.6.

⁴⁴ See the ancient Jewish and Greek concept of friendship in VAN DER WATT, *Family of the King*, 360–362; David KONSTAN, “Friendship, Frankness and Flattery,” in John T. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World* (NovTSup 82), Leiden: Brill, 1996, 7–19.

that their communion with Jesus is permanent.⁴⁵ *Abiding*, therefore, does not involve the thought of

becoming a Christian but of staying a Christian, i.e. living out and acting the Christian life. This implies an inner commitment with reciprocal obligations: the believer abides in Christ and Christ and his words abide in the believer.⁴⁶

Other related qualities also appear: frankness and openness (7,26; 10,24; 18,20; 16,25-30),⁴⁷ and loyalty (6,35.37).⁴⁸ We can also observe another the essential element of friendship in the text above: to seek the other's well-being even to the point of dying for him. This is not a Jewish idea of friendship, but it was very common among the Greeks.⁴⁹ Friendship with Jesus means thinking and acting in unity with him. However, this is one of the unequal friendships since the disciples have to do what Jesus commands; in turn, Jesus lays down his life for them (3,14-16), an act of extreme sharing. The disciples' actions are, nevertheless, not "blind" actions, since friendship in Jesus also means sharing

⁴⁵ Following Raymond E. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John*, 2 vols., (AB 29, 29a), Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966-1970; repr., 2008, 1:510-512, Jerome H. NEYREY, "Spaced out: 'Territoriality' in the Fourth Gospel," *HvTSt* 58 (2002) 651-652, describes two connotations of the expression μένειν, "permanence" and "immanence/relationship" – the latter is associated with "being in" (see John 14,10. 11); in the references to Jesus and the Father "being in" describes Jesus' role as "the bridge between the heavenly and earthly worlds" (652). Brown relies on two important studies: G. PERCORARA, "De verbo 'manere' apud Joannem," *DivThom* 40 (1937) 159-171, and Rudolf SCHNACKENBURG, "Zu den joh. Immanenzformeln," *Die Johannesbriefe*, Freiburg: Herder, ²1963, 105-109.

⁴⁶ Chrys CARAGOUNIS, "'Abide in Me': A New Mode of Relationship between Jesus and His Followers as a Basis for Christian Ethics (John 15)," in Jan G. VAN DER WATT, Ruben ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Rethinking the Ethics of John: "Implicit Ethics" in the Johannine Writings*, vol. 3 of *Kontexte und Normen neutestamentlicher Ethik = Contexts and Norms of New Testament Ethics* (WUNT 291), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 262-263.

⁴⁷ KONSTAN, "Friendship, Frankness and Flattery," 15: "One particular modulation of the ideal of frankness or παρρησία is the Christian ideal of perfect openness before God." Cf. William KLASSEN, "Παρρησία in the Johannine Corpus," in *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. FITZGERALD (NovTSup 82), Leiden: Brill, 1996, 240-254.

⁴⁸ VAN DER WATT, *Family of the King*, 366.

⁴⁹ PLATO, *Symp.* 179B; ARISTOTLE, *Eth. nic.* 9.8.9; CICERO, *Amic.* 7.24.

in his knowledge,⁵⁰ Jesus revealed everything to the believers, and based on this knowledge they can act in unity with him and the Father.

Conclusion

Eternal life in the Gospel of John does not only have a quantitative meaning, but it implies a relation. The relational aspect of life is stressed via the metaphors of abiding where life is perceived as the human beings' presence in Jesus and God and in their love. It is the unity between Jesus and God that is extended to the believers, who take part in the family of God (17,20-23). The believers receive a new life through being born of God: "You in me, and I in you" is the way the new life is perceived. Using the insights of cognitive linguistics lets us perceive different aspects of the metaphor of abiding. God, Jesus and human beings are understood in terms of complex objects. As a result, their characteristics and behaviour are viewed as structural attributes and functional behaviour. Thus, the unity of man with Jesus and God viewed in terms of being in each other perceives the structural unity of this relationship, as well as its functional aspect: Jesus works in unity with the Father, and man works in unity with Jesus; this involves proper actions towards God, but also towards fellow human beings as well.

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⁵⁰ Charles K. BARRETT, *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, London: SPCK, 1955, 398: "It is characteristic of John that that which (according to him) distinguishes the friend from the slave is knowledge, and that knowledge should be very closely related to love. The existence of a superior group of φίλοι, distinguished from δοῦλοι, recalls both Gnosticism and the mystery cults [...]; but it must always be remembered that for John the distinguishing marks of those who become φίλοι are the obedience and humility shown by Jesus himself."

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THE EDUCATION OF HUNGARIAN GIRLS AND THE “MARIANUM” CATHOLIC SCHOOL IN CLUJ/KOLOZSVÁR. A CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. This paper explores the controversial issue of girls’ education, with a special focus on the instruction of Hungarian girls, proposing a cultural and historical approach. After some preliminary considerations on the questions raised in literature regarding the opportunity and limits of women’s instruction, I turn to the Hungarian initiatives promoting the education of girls. The final part of the article discusses a particular case, the Marianum Catholic high school for girls from Kolozsvár (Cluj) and its efforts to include culture, notably theatre in the pedagogical process.

Keywords: education of women, curriculum, “Marianum” Catholic high school for girls, theatre, performance

Preliminary considerations on the education of girls

The education of girls, its opportunity and goal was at all times an issue marked by prejudice. As women were considered inferior to men, the education of girls was either disregarded or limited to the acquisition of household skills. Girls were trained to be good housewives, able to provide for their family. Even when they received a formal education, they usually followed a different curriculum compared to that of men, as they were not meant (nor allowed) to assume public roles. These views emerge regularly in works that acknowledge the need for girls’ education, from the Renaissance onward. Even authors who acknowledged the need for girls’ formal education voiced biased views concerning women’s mental abilities and set a limited scope for girls’ instruction.

The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) addresses the issue of women’s education in his handbook *De institutione feminae christianae* (1523), dedicated to Catherine of Aragon, the wife of Henry VIII, meant for the instruction of her daughter, Mary.² Addressing the nature and education of

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² Juan Luis VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, vol. 1, transl. Charles FANTAZZI (Charles Fantazzi, C. Matheussen [eds.], *Selected Works of Juan Luis Vives*), Leiden: Brill, 1996; *The Education of a Christian Woman. A Sixteenth-Century Manual* (ed., tr. Charles FANTAZZI), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. The writing is regarded the most important treatise of the Renaissance addressing the topic of

women, Vives largely relied on the writings of Jerome, whom he quotes repeatedly, but also on Aristotle's thought, as mediated by Thomas Aquinas, on Pseudo-Aristotelian economic literature, and a number of contemporary writings.³ Girls should be taught from early on the skills needed for household tasks and should be prevented from remaining idle.⁴ This should be true even for a queen or princess, who should not be unoccupied, as women's thoughts are "swift and generally unsettled, roving without direction, and I know not where her instability would lead her."⁵ Vives does not share the common view that learning has detrimental influences on women. Conversely, evil is associated with ignorance; conversely, one cannot find a truly learned woman (*docta*) that is unchaste.⁶

He shares the traditional views concerning the roles of women. Based on 1 Cor 14,34-35 and 1 Tim 2,11-12 he argues that women are not to teach, as they are weak and of uncertain judgment, and easily deceived.⁷ The main aim of women's education is to secure their chastity: "A woman's only care is chastity; therefore when this has been thoroughly elucidated, she may be considered to have received sufficient instruction."⁸ A parent wants his daughter a virgin, not a scholar, therefore the most important concern of any parent should be to protect a girl from any sinful influence.⁹ A virtuous girl, in Vives' view, is a follower of the Virgin Mary, and the spouse of Christ.¹⁰ To achieve this ideal, educators and parents have to be careful and suspicious guardians of girls' morals and behavior. Girls are not to be raised in the

women's education, cited and followed by subsequent authors who wrote on the topic, which in spite of Vives' traditional position on gender roles and the status of women, also voices some humanistic ideas, acknowledges women's moral probity and their capacity for learning.

³ On the sources of the treatise, FANTAZZI, 2000, 23–30.

⁴ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.3. §13, 15 ; 4. §15-17 (FANTAZZI I, 1996, 19, 21–25; *Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 58–62).

⁵ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.3. §15 (FANTAZZI I, 1996, 19, 21).

⁶ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 4.§21-22 (FANTAZZI I, 1996, 31–32; *Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 64–65). The benefits of learning are further extolled in 4. §26-27, *Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 70–71.

⁷ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.4. §29 (*Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 47).

⁸ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, Preface §3 (*Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 47).

⁹ PUKÁNSZKY Béla, *A nőnevelés története*, Budapest: Gondolat, 2013, 48–52. Ch. 6 of book 1 is dedicated to the praise of virginity.

¹⁰ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.9. §80-81 (*Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 113–114).

company of men.¹¹ A woman is not supposed to aspire to equal social standing with men. A woman is expected to keep silent, therefore it is unbecoming for her to be in charge with a school, have dealings with or speak to men.¹²

In his *De l'éducation des filles* (1687), the French Catholic priest and pedagogue François Fénelon makes a strong case for girls' education, a task unduly neglected due to the view that knowledgeable women become vain and conceited. As a consequence they were supposed to learn only enough to be able to manage the household and obey their husband without second thoughts (“sans raisonner”). In spite of examples to the point, Fénelon argues, girls do require education, and should not be abandoned to ignorant and indiscreet mothers.¹³ Women belong indeed to the weaker gender, their physical and mental aptitudes are very different from those of men, their role and vocation is therefore also very different. The mind of women is weaker and more inquisitive than that of men. They should not engage therefore in studies in which they would persist with obstinacy (“des études dont elles pourraient s'entêter”). They are not supposed to rule a country, nor lead a war, they do not enter the sacred ministry, and therefore they can dispense with extensive knowledge pertaining to politics, military tactics, jurisprudence, philosophy and theology. Most branches of engineering (“arts mécaniques”) are not for them either, as women are created for moderate exercise. Their body and mind is less strong and robust than that of men. In exchange nature provided them with industry, tidiness and thrift, to keep them quietly preoccupied in their home.¹⁴ It has to be admitted though that Fénelon recognizes the importance of women in managing the household, which is the fundament of human existence. The argument is introduced however with a repeated emphasis on women's natural weakness: the weaker they are, the more they need to be strengthened by education. The plea for the education of women leads the reader to recognize that women are responsible in many ways for the earthly well-being and eternal salvation of humans.

¹¹ VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.2. §10 (FANTAZZI I, 1996, 15; *Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 55).

¹² VIVES, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* 1.4. §29; *Education*, FANTAZZI, 2000, 72.

¹³ François DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, Paris, 1800, 1-3; Engl. François Fenelon's *Treatise on the Education of Daughters. Translated from the French, and Adapted to English Readers* (transl. Thomas F. Dibdin), London, 1805, 1-3.

¹⁴ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 3-4; *Treatise on the Education of Daughters*, 4-5.

The first female professional author to write a book on women's virtues and education is Christine de Pisan (1364–1429).¹⁵ She confronts the well-established prejudices concerning women (voiced by “men, clerics and other”), their alleged proclivity to vices, and the biases regarding their mental capacities and their instruction.¹⁶ Her book has numerous references to classical authors, allusions to ancient Greek and Latin narratives, mythical characters and themes, doubled by the evocation of powerful female biblical characters, saints and martyrs.¹⁷ Her vision of the three personified Virtues—Lady Reason, Rectitude and Justice—that lead her to the foundation of the allegorical city of erudite and virtuous ladies construes in fact a developed argument for women's wisdom, intelligence and virtue. She argues through the voice of Lady Reason that the intellectual capacities of women, received as a gift of God, equal those of men.¹⁸ Pisan evokes her eagerness to learn from childhood on. Through the voice of Lady Rectitude we learn that Christine's father (Tommaso di Benvenuto da Pizzano) had no problem with women learning, but took great pleasure in her study. It was her mother instead who opposed her education, expecting her to commit to female occupations.¹⁹ Pisan was convinced that women are able to acquire any knowledge and they have the right to do so. If women were educated, they could achieve anything, just like men.²⁰ Christine de Pisan only advocated women's right to study, whereas she accepted the division of public and private avocations and traditional gender roles.²¹

The founders of female Catholic religious orders were often pioneers of women's education, aiming to teach girls in order to empower them. Angela Merici founded her religious order in Brescia in 1535 and offered shelter and comfort to girls and women, to help them escape poverty. Mary Ward founded

¹⁵ Maureen CHENEY CURNOW, *The Livre de la Cité des Dames of Christine de Pisan. A Critical edition* (PhD dissertation), Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, 1975; Sulamit SHAHAR, *Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, London: Routledge, 1983, revised edition 2003, 155.

¹⁶ *Livre de la Cité des Dames* 1a; 1c (the woman created by God presented as a receptacle of all evils and an abominable monster, ultimately an approach that envisages God's creative act as a failure); 21, 22 (CHENEY CURNOW, 618, 620, 645–646), *passim*.

¹⁷ She largely relies on Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* (CHENEY CURNOW, 22). But her erudition is uncontroversial.

¹⁸ *Livre de la Cité des Dames* 82, 102a, 110, 115 (CHENEY CURNOW, 720–723, 747, 757, 761–762). The argument is underscored with examples of erudite women.

¹⁹ *Livre de la Cité des Dames* 186 (CHENEY CURNOW, 875).

²⁰ See Jean DELUMEAU, *La Civilisation de la Renaissance*, Paris: Éditions Civilisations, 1967, 435.

²¹ SHAHAR, *Fourth Estate*, 155.

a female order for the same reason and with similar purposes. The rule of the community was drafted in 1615, the teaching methodology to be used in the schools of the community was elaborated in 1628, but the order received pontifical recognition only in 1703.²² This delay points to the difficulties faced by those who worked for the emancipation of women by means of education.

Education was intimately linked with women’s social emancipation. In the 18th century Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), in the first proclamation on the rights of women, rejected Rousseau’s views (as voiced in *Sophie*) and argued that women were unprivileged, subordinated to the autocratic rule of men by means of a social system that deprived them of formal education. She questioned the difference between genders, and called for an educational reform. Equal chances in education would have allowed women to prove their abilities outside the domestic sphere as well.²³

The education of girls in Hungarian contexts

One of the first Hungarian writings on the education of girls is a treatise by Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom.²⁴ In his *Education of a Christian Girl*²⁵ Pázmány relies on a number of early Christian writers (Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Fulgentius), but also evokes Greek authors like Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle. He follows Aristotle in arguing that girls need to be educated for construing a virtuous society, as women are half of the population and they are responsible for the upbringing of men. In another sermon entitled *About the religious education of the sons* Pázmány emphasizes parents’ duty to educate their children. Women have an important role in this respect, and their reward will come from God, as a woman is saved by bearing sons, if she preserves her

²² See Walter NIGG, *Mary Ward – Eine Frau gibt nicht auf*, Zürich: Römerhof Verlag, 2009.

²³ On the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792): Gisela BOCK, *Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, München: C.H. Beck, 2000, 92–111.

²⁴ Originally a Protestant, Péter Pázmány (1570–1637) studied at the Jesuit College in Koložsvár/Cluj, where he decided to convert to Catholicism. He later joined the Jesuit order. He taught briefly at the University of Graz. He became archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary in 1616. MÉSZÁROS István, *A katolikus iskola ezeréves története Magyarországon (A Thousand Years of Catholic School in Hungary)*. Budapest, 2000, 17.

²⁵ *Mint kell a keresztyén leányt nevelni*, in PÁZMÁNY Péter *Művei* (ed. Márton TARNÓC), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983; *Prédikációk (Sermons)*, 1021–1042, here: 1023.

faith, her soberness and educates her children religiously (a reference to 1 Tim 2,15).²⁶

Concern for women's education in a more institutional form was first shown from the end of the 18th century. The curriculum was obviously influenced by the common views on gender roles. In the 1820's women's education became the topic of media debates.²⁷ János Szép was one of the few to argue that men and women should receive the same education, as women are not inferior to men.²⁸ Teréz Brunszvik, a militant of the cause²⁹ argued that a family with a high social status needed both partners to be equally instructed; a woman had to be involved in all the actions and thoughts of the husband, to prove to be his equal and worthy partner. This reciprocity is evoked with a telling image: in a family where the woman knits socks for her husband, the man should make shoes for his wife. Paraphrasing Gen 2,22-24, Mk 10,9, and Matt 19,6, Brunszvik argued that "one should not separate what nature made one."³⁰ She envisaged a future when the other – and more important – half of humanity would receive the same education.³¹ Teréz Brunszvik also drafted a curriculum for the purpose. It was another Theresa, Teréz Karacs who founded a school for girls in Miskolc in September 1846. Karacs also defended the equal capacities and rights of men and women.³² In the same period the niece of Teréz Brunszvik, a noblewoman from Transylvania, Blanka Teleki founded a school for the daughters of Hungarian aristocrats.

In 1806 the second *Ratio Educationis*³³ stipulated the establishment of public schools for girls. The task was fulfilled by Catholic religious orders. The

²⁶ *A fiaknak istenes neveléséről*, in PÁZMÁNY Művei, *Prédikációk*, 650–651, 653–654.

²⁷ Katalin FEHÉR, "Vélemények, viták a nevelésről két reformkori folyóiratunkban" (Opinions and Arguments About Education in Two 19th Century Newspapers), in Alice DOMBI, János OLÁH (eds.), *A XIX. századi magyar pedagógusok a polgárosodásért*, Gyula: APC-Stúdió, 2003, 212.

²⁸ János SZÉP, "Elmélkedés az aszszonyi nem taníttatásáról" (Arguments for Women's Education), in *Tudományos gyűjtemény*, 1821. IV. 22–60, 23.

²⁹ Teréz BRUNSZVIK, "Nőképzés és nőnevelés" (Women's Education), in OROSZ Lajos (ed.), *A magyar nőnevelés úttörői (The Pioneers of Women's Education)*, Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1962, 233.

³⁰ BRUNSZVIK, *Nőképzés*, 233.

³¹ BRUNSZVIK, *Nőképzés*, 234.

³² Quoted by OROSZ, *A magyar nőnevelés úttörői*, 95.

³³ The first *Ratio Educationis* (1777), a decree issued by Maria Theresa, was a comprehensive regulation of the system of public instruction in Hungary (*Ratio Educationis totiusque Rei Literariae per Regnum Hungariae et Provincias eidem adnexas*. Tomus I, Vindobonae, Typis Joan. Thom. Nob. de Trattnern, MDCCLXXVII).

goal of girls' education was to prepare future housewives. Some courses instructed women for factory work, providing girls from a poor background with job opportunities.

The 1845-decree on public instruction established that boys and girls had to receive an education that suited their gender and social status. Peasant girls were to learn elementary skills (reading, writing, counting, singing and sewing), religion and basic notions of economy. Beyond these, commoners' daughters and gentry girls learnt spelling, composition, and literature. Upper-class girls also learned foreign languages (German, French), geography, natural science, history, basic physics, drawing, music and dance.³⁴

Women's initiatives contributed to the development and organization of the education system for girls in the 19th century. One of the major figures was Hermin Beniczky, married Pálné Veres (1815–1895), a teacher and promoter of women's rights.³⁵ In 1868 she established the national organization for women's education (Országos Nőképző Egyesület, ONKE), and gathered the signature of 9000 women asking the founding of a school for secondary education for girls. The first school for secondary education was founded in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, in 1875. In order to prepare educators for these institutions, high school training started for schoolmistresses in Buda (1869), in Kolozsvár (now Cluj) (1870), in Pozsony (now Bratislava), Szabadka (now Subotica) (1871), and in Győr (1875).

This institution did not allow girls to graduate and follow a university career. The first solution was that girls were allowed to have their exams in private at any of the high schools for boys (1895). The first class of girls could officially graduate in their own institution only in 1900. The curriculum was similar to that of boy schools, with a slight difference in accordance with the “female specifics”. Girls did not study Greek and started Latin later, and as specific female activities they learned drawing, music (mostly singing) and needlework.³⁶

It was replaced by the second *Ratio Educationis* issued by Franz I in 1806 (*Ratio publicae totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidam adnexas*, Budaë, Typis et sumtibus regiae Universitas Hungaricae, 1806). The latter was in force until 1848.

³⁴ *Magyarország elemi tanodáinak szabályzata (Regulations for Hungary's public schools)*, in Béla PUKÁNSZKY, *A nőnevelés története*, Budapest: Gondolat, 2013, 119–121.

³⁵ She is known under the latter name, literally as wife of Pál Veres. The social conventions on naming married women as wives of a man (used up to this day in Hungarian), without reference to their first name shows the degree to which women lost their identity in marriage.

³⁶ PUKÁNSZKY, *A nőnevelés története*, 168–182.

Till 1912 there were only three high schools for girls in the Hungarian-speaking territories. According to statistical data, in 1912/13 1070 female pupils were registered and another 771 girls attended private courses in high schools for boys. Almost 5200 girls studied to become teachers and schoolmistresses.³⁷

A secondary school for girls in Kolozsvár/Cluj in the 20th century

In the 19th century the public instruction of girls started to focus on providing knowledge that allowed women to undertake a job and start an existence outside the home. Graduating was originally a privilege for girls. Hungarian women were allowed to study at a university only since 1895 (initially humanities, medicine and pharmacy).³⁸ The first secondary school for Hungarian girls opened in Budapest on October 2, 1896. The curriculum was the same as that of the secondary schools for boys with a few differences.

In 1880 the city of Kolozsvár (Cluj/Klausenburg, in Transylvania³⁹) invited a young woman, Antonina De Gerando, to be director of the newly established school for girls, where girls between the ages of 12–18 were taught.⁴⁰ The school was owned by the city. Its goal was to educate girls and prepare them for graduation, to offer them a diploma allowing them to become educators themselves. In 1893 the school had over 300 students. Under De Gerando a new building was built in 1901. Originally the curriculum focused on preparing the girls for their future role of wives and mothers, although De Gerando also emphasized that women had to be good and well trained citizens as well. It is interesting to note that Antonina De Gerando was the granddaughter of Teréz Brunszvik and niece of Blanka Teleki, both important

³⁷ Péter Tibor NAGY, “A középfokú nőoktatás huszadik századi történetéhez” (About Women’s Education in the 20th Century), *Iskolakultúra*, 3 (2003), 3–13 (5).

³⁸ See Béla PUKÁNSZKY, András NÉMETH, *Neveléstörténet*, Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996; Béla PUKÁNSZKY, *A nőnevelés évezredei*, Budapest: Gondolat, 2006; Béla PUKÁNSZKY, *A nőnevelés története*, Budapest: Gondolat, 2013.

³⁹ The Eastern region of Hungary was part of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy until the Treaty of Trianon (1920), when it became part of Romania.

⁴⁰ Hajnalka MÁRTON, “A történet kezdete. De Gerando Antonina életútjának töredékei” (The Beginning of the Story. Bits from the Life of Antonina De Gerando), *Magiszter 2* (2013) 113–120 <<http://rmpsz.ro/uploaded/tiny/files/magiszter/2013/nyar/11.pdf>> (2016.08.11.)

predecessors in the endeavor to promote Hungarian women’s education.⁴¹ Antonina De Gerando was director of the public school for girls in Kolozsvár for 25 years.

At the very beginning of the 20th century the rector of Saint Michael’s Catholic parish, József Hirschler (1874–1936) argued that local authorities should open a school for girls in Kolozsvár/Cluj. As the school lead by De Gerando was not concerned with religious education, Hirschler decided to establish a school for girls himself. He rebuilt the small “Augusteum” that hosted an elementary school and entrusted the education of girls to the School Sisters from Temesvár. They founded a kindergarten, an elementary school and an orphanage for girls.⁴² In 1908 Hirschler bought a downtown plot where the sisters started a public school for girls. The parish priest entrusted the architect Jenő Hübner to draft the project of a modern school that was built in 1910–1911. The Marianum was the best school building of its time, the first reinforced concrete building in Kolozsvár, with 120 rooms, including bathrooms, dorms, a sports’ hall, laboratories, and a tennis court (which functioned as skating ring in winter).⁴³ The building was inaugurated on December 10, 1911, in the presence of many the local authorities and the representatives of the government. The Transylvanian Catholic Bishop Gusztáv Károly Majláth consecrated the establishment.⁴⁴

The first director of the school was József Hirschler himself. Girls from all over Transylvania and Hungary attended the Marianum,⁴⁵ which followed the idea of the founder of the order of the School Sisters, Mary Ward, that all girls should have access to education.⁴⁶ In 1914 a complex of dormitories was

⁴¹ Katalin KÉRI, “A modern nevelés útjain – De Gerando Antonina” (On the Path of Modern Education – Antonina De Gerando), *Embernevelés* 2 (1996) 11–18. <<http://kerikata.hu/publikaciok/text/gerando.htm>> (2016.08.11.)

⁴² *Emléklapok a Marianum történetéből (Marianum Memoir)*, Cluj–Kolozsvár 1927, 14.

⁴³ Éva VEIDINGER, “Iskolatörténeti vázlat a kolozsvári Marianum intézetről” (School History of the Marianum in Cluj), in *Marianum. Az erdélyi iskolanővérek nyomában* (Marianum: In the Footsteps of the School Sisters of Transylvania), edited by the Hungarian Province of the Religious Order of the School Sisters (Miasszonyunkról nevezett Szegény Iskolanővérek Magyar Tartománya), Debrecen 2008, 43.

⁴⁴ Krisztofer Levente OROSZ, “A kolozsvári Marianum története az első világháború végéig” (2) (The History of the Marianum Till the End of World War I, part 2.), *Keresztény Szó* 12 (2007), <<http://www.keresztenyszoz.katolikos.ro/archivum/old/index.html>> (2013. 09.21.)

⁴⁵ VEIDINGER, “Iskolatörténeti vázlat”, *Marianum*, 40, 44.

⁴⁶ Krisztina Petra TORNAY, “Az iskolanővérek lelkesége” (The Spirituality of the School Sisters), *Marianum*, 32.

added, and apartments for teachers were built behind the school in 1924. The basement hosted a printing house, the Providentia.

26701 girls studied in the Marianum between 1911 and 1948, 4404 of them in a boarding school system. Cultural and extracurricular activities were strongly encouraged and supported. The Marianum had a reputed choir. Students presented several plays, attended theatre and even movies. Common activities were also important. The school had a literary circle, published a school chronicle, as well as a periodical for girls, the *Erdélyi Magyar Lányok* (*Transylvanian Hungarian Girls*) that appeared between 1924 and 1931.

On the 2nd of June 1944, at the end of World War II the building was damaged by the bombs of the Allied Forces. In 1948 the communist state expropriated the buildings of the school. The Marianum hosts today the Faculty of Letters of the state university.

Educating girls through art and theatre in the Marianum

The recollections of former students frequently evoke the fervent cultural life of the school. One of alumnae highlights the concern of both the sisters and the lay teachers to encourage girls' logical thinking and their efforts directed to educating accomplished young women. The Marianum was a school for life. Following the curriculum the teachers cultivated the intellectual capacities of their students, encouraging them to analyze attentively all possibilities, to discover the opportunities and make the best choices, preparing them for life.⁴⁷

The intensive cultural life of the Marianum is constantly evoked, from singing and dancing to theatre and exhibitions. Personal recollections are completed by the records of the yearbooks. Among these musical performances and theatre plays are frequently mentioned. The 1912–13 yearbook lists on the 3rd of February the plays performed by the students⁴⁸ and the names of the participants.

Students regularly attended theatre plays. The girls from the Marianum joined the male students from the Piarist High School. The Hungarian Theatre of Kolozsvár/Cluj organized special events for the students: plays were selected to complete the courses of literature and each play was introduced and explained by one of their teachers or a university professor. These carefully selected plays completed the knowledge provided by the subjects studied at school. Soon the theatre was not large enough to welcome the interested students of both schools; therefore the girls attended the plays apart from the

⁴⁷ Recollection of Ida Macsek, *Marianum*, 65.

⁴⁸ *Az egyetlen kabát* (*The Only Coat*, a comedy in one act), *Fiam lakodalma* (*My son's wedding*, a monologue), *A tudakozó intézet okozta a tévedést* (*The misunderstanding was caused by the information service*, comedy in two acts).

boys of the Piarist School, together with students from smaller institutions lead by the School Sisters, such as the orphanage and the schools for deaf and blind students. Records mention that in 1912–1913 the students of the Marianum watched plays of consecrated or popular Hungarian 19th century playwrights: *Bánk bán* (*Captain Bánk*), by József Katona, *Csongor és Tünde* (*The Lovers: Csongor and Tünde*), by Mihály Vörösmarty, *A tolonc* (*The Undesirable*), by Endre Tóth, but also international pieces like *The Tales of Hoffman*. Students also watched several movies (*The Balkan War*, *Quo vadis*) in the newly built, modern movie theatre Urania. One of the teachers, Jenő Cholnoky presented pictures taken during his North American journey.

In 1913–14 the yearbook mentions musical performances organized at the school. The students also attended several plays at the theatre: *Az új földesúr* (*The New Landlord*), by Mór Jókai, *A leányom* (*My Daughter*), by Imre Földes, *Pajkos diákok* (*Playful Students*), by Bertalan Kun, but also the *The Cardinal* by the 17th-century playwright James Shirley and *The Young Eagle* by Edmond Rostand.

In the 1914–15 academic year the girls of Marianum performed two comedies on the 14th of February, *The charmed guestroom*,⁴⁹ and *Piroska modern lány lesz* (*Little Red Riding Hood Goes Modern*), by Ede Sas. Girls also enacted scenes presenting Hungarian folk traditions accompanied by folk music performed by the students. The detailed record of the participants shows the importance assigned to the performance. The April performance was dedicated to the national celebration and envisaged themes of the Hungarian history, accompanied by folk music. A remarkable, Latin performance took place on the 9th of May, with the *Captivi* by Plautus, and the *Vita Sexti* with scenes taken from Sextus's life. Students also recited Hungarian poets' (Kisfaludy, Petőfi) verses translated into Latin.

The girls also organized charity performances during the war. On the 24th of May they presented the musical *Jancsi és Juliska* (the Hungarian version of *Hänsel and Gretel*) by Jenő Sztojanovics and an allegory on *Life and School*. The charity performances went on the following year as well. On the 20th of February 1916 girls belonging to the Congregation of Mary organized an event where the students of the Marianum presented musicals and comedies (Hackl's *King of the Frogs*, Bokor Malvin's *Dream*). The income of the event was donated to the army. On the 15th of March students performed an oratory (Heidelberg's *Celebration*).

⁴⁹ A play adapted from German by Fausztin, possibly after August Strindberg's *Das verzauberte Zimmer*.

On the 21st of May the students of Marianum organized a charity event for the girls who had lost their fathers in the war. They performed the *Mucius Scaelova* after Livy in Latin, and the *Schola*, a play from the Latin textbook *Liber Sexti* (published in Budapest, in 1912).

To conclude, the Marianum was a modern school, not only in terms of infrastructure, but also with respect to the educational approaches. Education was aiming to prepare the graduates for life and to develop their personality. These aims were pursued with determination under the most difficult circumstances (the war, and the political changes that followed the war). In spite of the unfavorable circumstances, the Marianum encouraged the girls to participate in numerous extracurricular activities in the field of arts, performances, music, and theatre. School theatre was used as an instrument of education, to broaden students' culture and develop their skills in speech and public performance. Girls were thereby prepared not only to become good housewives, but also to respond to challenges, including the performance of public roles.

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FÉNELON AND THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS. A SHORT NOTE ON SOME ENDURING ANCIENT TOPOI

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Abstract. This paper discusses François Fénelon's treatise on the Education of Girls (*De l'éducation des filles*, 1687) focusing on the presence of common Greco-Roman topoi regarding the education of women. These concern the reasons for which girls should be educated, the curriculum they should follow and the flaws of female nature that should be kept in mind in the process. Some ideas pick up arguments already voiced by Xenophon, Musonius Rufus, and Plutarch. In spite of his moderately progressive educational views, Fénelon uses these topoi to reinforce traditional gender roles. To the *savante* he opposes the modest, self-effaced woman dedicated to household management.

Keywords: education of women, François Fénelon, *De l'éducation des filles*, Xenophon, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch, virtues, household management.

François Fénelon's treatise on the education of girls (*De l'éducation des filles*, 1684/1687)² defies in a sense categorizations like conservative or progressive.³ It is part of a Catholic trend that promoted traditional ideals of educations and gender roles, and it was rather conservative with respect to the education of women, compared to works of contemporaries like François Poulain de la Barre, an outspoken advocate of the equality of the sexes, or Abbé Jean-Baptiste Morvande Bellegarde.⁴ As Carolyn Lougee has summarized it some time ago, Fénelon

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² François DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, Paris, 1800; Engl. François Fenelon's *Treatise on the Education of Daughters. Translated from the French, and Adapted to English Readers* (transl. Thomas F. Dibdin), London, 1805.

³ On the background and reception of the work: Carolyn C. LOUGEE, "Noblesse, Domesticity, and Social Reform: The Education of Girls by Fénelon and Saint-Cyr", *History of Education Quarterly* 14.1 (1974) 87-113 (88-95); Claire BOULARD JOUSLIN, "Conservative or Reformer? The History and Fortune of Fénelon's *Traité de l'Éducation des filles* in Eighteenth-Century England", *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12.4 (2012) 48-77.

⁴ BOULARD JOUSLIN, "Conservative or Reformer?", 52. See François POULLAIN DE LA BARRE, *De l'égalité des deux sexes, Discours physique et moral, où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des préjugés*, Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1673, ²1679

formulated an educational program designed to produce hard-working, frugal, and simple mothers of noble families. From the fundamental premises that education was a variable of social function and that woman's function was the governance of families, Fénelon deduced a limited curriculum of practical economics, basic religious training, and a safe dose of carefully-selected classical and modern literature.⁵

But the treatise is also remarkably modern in many respects, when it comes to pedagogy. Fénelon appears as a fine observer of the behavior and psychology of children. Many of his principles are clearly progressive.⁶ Educators should pay attention to the inclinations of the children and to the particulars of their age, they should teach and educate through conversation, engaging the insights, the inquisitiveness and the imagination of the child, they should encourage learning through understanding and experiencing, avoid putting pressure on the child, build a relationship based on trust and encourage openness before asserting authority. In a passage addressing the manner women should learn to deal with their servants, he even states that all humans are born equal. This paper does not discuss however Fénelon's pedagogical principles, but focuses on one specific aspect, - the presence of common Greco-Roman topoi regarding the education of women. These concern the reasons for which girls should be educated, the curriculum they should follow and the flaws of female nature that should be kept in mind in the process. Obviously many advices reflect the situation of French elite 17th century women. But other ideas pick up arguments already voiced by Xenophon, Musonius Rufus, and Plutarch.

Although he does not quote ancient authors, Fénelon's acquaintance with many of them is clear. His early biographer remarks that in his years of homeschooling he received a thorough education in Greek and Latin and his style was polished through the example of great models from the schools of

(explaining and criticizing women's exclusion from learning and science, 16–18; women are capable of learning any discipline, just like man, 40–50; they are capable to teach, to enter ministry and to exert authority, 54–55); *De l'éducation des dames pour la conduite de l'esprit dans les sciences et dans les mœurs. Entretiens*, Paris: Jean du Puis, 1674. *De l'égalité des deux sexes* is an exceptionally progressive work, critical of prejudices regarding women, sympathetic of their capacities and achievements. See also Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde, *Modèles de conversations pour les personnes polies*, Amsterdam, 1699, 176–193, on the worth of conversing with intellectually endowed women.

⁵ LOUGEE, "Noblesse, Domesticity, and Social Reform", 87.

⁶ Yet, as shown by BOULARD JOUSLIN, progressive educational principles were advocated already earlier by Erasmus, Montaigne, Comenius, and L'Abbé Fleury, Fénelon's contemporary. "Conservative or Reformer?", 51.

Athens and Rome.⁷ His knowledge of Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* was noted already in the 19th century with respect to both the *Education of Girls* and the *Adventures of Telemachus*.⁸ His knowledge of Plutarch has also been confirmed, at least with respect to his *Lives*.⁹ I did not find studies on Fénelon's knowledge of Musonius, but some of his arguments evoke the views of the Stoic philosopher on the matter, and Stobaeus, whose *Anthologion* includes Musonius' fragments on the education of girls and women's study of philosophy was published already in the 16th century and could have been available to him.¹⁰

(Why) should girls be educated?

There is no question for Fénelon that women need to be educated. He introduces his treatise with a plea on the matter, refuting common counterarguments. Supposedly girls should be given little education, and the task is commonly neglected and often left to custom. Women, according to common opinion, are not expected to be learned ("savantes"), as curiosity renders them vain and pretentious ("vaines et précieuses"). They are therefore supposed to learn just enough to be able to manage their household and obey their husband without disputing ("sans raisonner"). Fénelon does not reject the critique against learned women, whom knowledge has turned ridiculous. Women's mind is weaker and they are more curious than men. Girls' education should not however be given up, abandoned to the whim of ignorant and indiscreet mothers, even when girls should not be engaged in studies in which they would stubbornly persist ("s'entêter").¹¹

⁷ Louis-François DE BAUSSET, *Histoire de Fénelon I*, Paris: Gauthier, 41830, 4.

⁸ Louis BOULVÉ, *De l'hellénisme chez Fénelon*, Paris, 1897, reprint Genève: Slatkine, 1970, 108–109, 278–287. Boulvé's approach is apologetic; he argues that given his long-time experience Fénelon had in fact nothing to learn from pagan antiquity and the disciple of St Paul knew more on the education of women than the disciple of Socrates.

⁹ Sandra GREMY-DEPREZ, "Une source privilégiée du Télémaque: Les Vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque", *Littératures Classiques* 70 (2010) 225–242.

¹⁰ Books 3-4 of the *Anthologion*: Joannes STOBÆUS, *Eklogai Apophthegmaton. Sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae (Graece et Latine) ..., nunc primum ... in Latinu(m) sermonem traductae*, ed., trans. Conrad GESNER, Zürich, 1543 (followed by two more editions: Basel, 1549 and Zürich; 1559). The *Sententiae* was also published in France (Paris, 1552 and 1557, Lyons, 1555). The entire *Anthologion* (Books 1-4) was first published in Geneva, in 1609. See Apophthegmata Bibliography, The Library of Renaissance Symbolism <<http://www.camrax.com/symbol/apophthegmbooks.php4>>.

¹¹ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 1-3. See also *Avis de monsieur de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrai, à une dame de qualité, sur l'éducation de mademoiselle sa*

The point however is that girls should receive appropriate education: the weaker the female nature is, the more women need to be strengthened by instruction. Further, women have essential tasks and duties to fulfil, which pertain to the fundament of human existence. The fair or wrong management of the household depends on women; moreover they are responsible for the good or evil morals of the entire world. A wise, diligent and religious woman puts order in earthly matters as well as those leading to salvation. Even men's public performance depends on the support they receive from their wife.¹² Fénelon envisages the social dimension of household management. The world is made up of the totality of families, which no one else can keep in order ("policer") with greater concern than women, with their natural authority, their diligence and innate qualities. They have an essential role in supporting their husband and educating their children.¹³ A further argument for the education of women comes from the recognition that they, who make up the half of humankind, have the same virtue as men, and have been saved by the blood of Christ.¹⁴ Later on Fénelon turns to one specific virtue, - courage, commonly assigned to

filles, in the same volume, 217–240 (229): the mother should denunciate before her daughter the vain and ridiculous character of women who pretend to be learned ("blâmer le caractère vain et ridicule des femmes qui affectent d'être savantes").

¹² "Ne sont-ce pas les femmes qui ruinent ou qui soutiennent les maisons, qui règlent tout le détail des choses domestiques, et qui, par conséquent, décident de ce qui touche de plus près à tout le genre humain? Par là, elles ont la principale part aux bonnes ou aux mauvaises mœurs de presque tout le monde. Une femme judicieuse, appliquée, et pleine de religion est l'âme de toute une grande maison; elle y met l'ordre pour les biens temporels et pour le salut. Les hommes mêmes, qui ont toute l'autorité en public, ne peuvent par leurs délibérations établir aucun bien effectif, si les femmes ne leur aident à l'exécuter." FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 4–5.

¹³ "Le monde [...] c'est l'assemblage de toutes les familles: et qui est-ce qui peut les policer avec un soin plus exact que les femmes, qui, outre leur autorité naturelle et leur assiduité dans leur maison, ont encore l'avantage d'être nées soigneuses, attentives au détail, industrieuses, insinuantes et persuasives? Mais les hommes peuvent-ils espérer pour eux-mêmes quelque douceur dans la vie, si leur plus étroite société, qui est celle du mariage, se tourne en amertume? Mais les enfants, qui feront dans la suite tout le genre humain, que deviendront-ils, si les mères les gâtent dès leurs premières années? Voilà donc les occupations des femmes, qui ne sont guère moins importantes au public que celles des hommes, puisqu'elles ont une maison à régler, un mari à rendre heureux, des enfants à bien élever." FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 5.

¹⁴ "Ajoutez que la vertu n'est pas moins pour les femmes que pour les hommes: sans parler du bien ou du mal qu'elles peuvent faire au public, elles sont la moitié du genre humain, racheté du sang de Jésus-Christ et destiné à la vie éternelle." FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 5–6.

men, yet equally important in women. Courage enables women to withstand all difficult conditions. It makes Christians of both sexes despise this life and love the one to come.¹⁵

Education should develop in girls respect for work, attention to useful occupations, and should aim at avoiding idleness.¹⁶

Several points emerge from this discussion. a) Women are thought to have lesser mental capacities; therefore they are less suited for education. b) The education of women is subject to derision and contempt. Learned women are commonly considered vain, conceited and ridiculous, a reason for which girls should not receive (too much) instruction. c) Women need to be taught in order to fulfil their fundamental role: to be able to manage their household, support their husband and raise their children. d) Appropriate household management is fundamental for a well-ordered human existence, for society as a whole; therefore the role of women is essential. e) Women should be educated because their virtue is equal to that of men, courage, a typically male virtue, included.

All these points are recurring themes in Greek and Roman authors.

Mental capacities and education

Women's ability to reason, to deliberate and to preserve their self-control is commonly questioned in antiquity.¹⁷ Certain women's outstanding intellectual

¹⁵ “Quoique les femmes n’aient pas les mêmes occasions que les hommes de montrer leur courage, elles doivent pourtant en avoir. La lâcheté est méprisable partout; partout elle a de méchants effets. Il faut qu’une femme sache résister à de vaines alarmes, qu’elle soit ferme contre certains périls imprévus; qu’elle ne pleure, ni ne s’effraye que pour de grands sujets, encore faut-il s’y soutenir par vertu. Quand on est Chrétien, de quelque sexe qu’on soit, il n’est pas permis d’être lâche. L’âme du christianisme, si on peut parler ainsi, est le mépris de cette vie et l’amour de l’autre.” FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 124–125,

¹⁶ FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 196.

¹⁷ The deliberative faculty of the woman (τὸ βουλευτικόν) lacks full authority (ἄκυρον) Arist., *Pol.* 1.5.6, 1260A. The man is by nature ruler over the woman, as he is superior (κρείττον) to her. Arist., *Pol.* 1.2.12, 1254B; 1.5.2, 1259B; 1.5.6, 1260A. Of all virtues, prudence or practical wisdom (φρόνησις) is possessed only by the ruler, while the ruled may have only correct opinion (δόξα ἀληθής). Arist., *Pol.* 3.2.11, 1277B. Cic., *Mur.* 27 (infirmitas consilii), Sen., *Cons. Marc.* 1.1 (infirmitas muliebris animi); Val. Max. 9.1.3 (imbecillitas mentis), Liv. 3.48.8 (imbecillus animus); cf. Emily HEMELRIJK, *Matrona Docta Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna* (Routledge Classical Monographs), London, New York: Routledge, 1999, 284. See also Philo, *QG* 1.25.

abilities are said to mirror those of the father¹⁸ or such women are associated with licentiousness.¹⁹

Only a few ancient authors defend the education of women, because of practical or ethical considerations. Plato argues that women should be educated in order to prevent an indulgent and wasteful lifestyle.²⁰ Xenophon, in his *Oikonomikos* makes a strong case for husbands teaching their wives.²¹ His main character, Isomachus is the best example to the point. He has married his wife when she was hardly fifteen, and turns out to be her successful teacher. As a result, she will develop excellent skills in household management.

Musonius strongly promotes the education of girls and emphasizes that women need to study philosophy. Women have the same ability to reason (λόγος) as men, the same senses and body parts, and the same moral sense.²² Man and woman alike must have understanding (φρονεῖν). Therefore girls should receive the same education as boys, since education is the precondition of a virtuous life.²³ As the study of philosophy is the path to a good and virtuous life, this cannot be regarded appropriate for men but inappropriate for women.²⁴ “[A]s without philosophy no man would be properly educated, so no woman would be.” Studying philosophy has its limits: women are not expected to develop “technical skill and acuteness in argument”, deemed to be superfluous, as women “use philosophy for the ends of their life as women.” No doubt, Musonius is not a feminist in the contemporary sense of the word. But it has to be noted that he has the same view on men’s approach to philosophy, which is ultimately a science of life and not a goal in itself. “Even in men I do not prize this accomplishment too highly. I only urge that they

¹⁸ Cic., *Brut.* 211 (Laelia), *Q Fr.* 1.3.3 (Tullia; Quint., *Inst.* 1.1.6 (Laelia); Val. Max. 8.3.3 (Hortensia).

¹⁹ Plut., *Per.* 24.4, of Aspasia.

²⁰ Pl., *Leg.* 7, 805D: “the female sex must share with the male, to the greatest extent possible, both in education and in all else. [...] The lawgiver ought to be whole-hearted, not half-hearted, – letting the female sex indulge in luxury and expense and disorderly ways of life, while supervising the male sex” (LCL, transl. Bury).

²¹ Men are largely responsible for their wives’ success or failure in managing the estate (Xen., *Oec.* 3.11–15; 7.4, 24–25. (*Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary*, transl. Sarah B. Pomeroy, Oxford: Clarendon, 1994). Also Xen., *Symp.* 2.9.

²² Fr. 3 (“That women too should study philosophy”), Cora E. LUTZ, *Musonius Rufus, “the Roman Socrates”*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, 38/39–42/43 (38,26–27).

²³ Fr. 4 (“Should daughters receive the same education as sons?”), LUTZ, 42/43–48/49 (44,11).

²⁴ Fr. 3, LUTZ, 38,28–40,7.

should acquire from philosophy goodness in conduct and nobility of character. Now in very truth philosophy is training in nobility of character and nothing else.”²⁵

Virtues and education

Virtues were commonly regarded as gender-specific, and were linked to the particular social role of men and women.²⁶ Notably courage or fortitude (*ἀνδρεία*) was deemed to be a male virtues. Only some authors sustain that the virtues of men and women are essentially the same (without questioning however their gender-specific roles). Plato’s Socrates argues against Meno that men and women need temperance and justice alike to perform their tasks well.²⁷ Xenophon thinks that certain virtues are granted in a greater share to one of the sexes, but others equally to both (such are temperance and self-control).²⁸ The Neo-Pythagorean treatise on a woman’s temperance assigned to Phintys also argues that some virtues are common to both sexes, whereas others are gender-specific, corresponding to certain occupations. Thus although fortitude / courage, prudence and justice belong to both, the two first are more typical for men.²⁹ Musonius comes closer to (Plato’s) Socrates. He strongly argues that both

²⁵ Fr. 4, LUTZ, 48,15-26.

²⁶ Pl., *Meno*, 71E (Gorgias argues that man’s virtue is political and distributive justice is typical to men; women’s virtue is private and enables her to fulfill her traditional roles in the household). Aristotle rejects the essential identity of virtues; the virtue of ruler and ruled, of men and women is different. *Pol.* 1.5.7–8, 1260A; 3.2.10–11, 1277B. Man is by nature more suitable to lead, and women are excluded from the exercise of (political) rule, even within the household (*Pol.* 1.5.2; 1259B; cf. 1.5.6, 1260A). Neopythagorean authors revive the Aristotelian view on gender-specific virtues (Callicr., *De dom. felic.*, in Holger THESLEFF (ed.), *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1965, 105,10–106,13; Engl. Kenneth S. GUTHRIE, David FIDELER, *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library. An Anthology of Ancient Writings Which Relate to Pythagoras and Pythagorean Philosophy*, Grand Rapids: Phanes, 1987, 236).

²⁷ Pl., *Meno*, 73AB (to manage *well* the polis or the household). Socrates shifts the meaning of *ἀρέτη*, from a natural ability enabling someone to perform a function (as Meno has it), toward the moral qualities that provide for an adequate fulfillment of a social role.

²⁸ Xen., *Oec.*, 7. 15,25–27. Even authority is given by God to whichever is the better, to win a larger share of the good(s); 7.27.

²⁹ “Some perhaps may not think that it becomes a woman to philosophize, any more than it is suitable for her to ride on horseback, or to harangue in public. But I think that while there are certain employments specialized to each sex, there are some common to both man and woman, while some belong to a sex only preferentially. Male avocations are to lead an army, to govern and to speak in public. Female avocations are to guard the

boys and girls should be trained in virtue, as “there is not one set of virtues for a man and another for a woman”. Understanding and justice are required in both: “the man who is not just would not be a good citizen and the woman would not manage her household well”.³⁰ Both sexes need to be chaste and show self-control. Philosophy makes a woman excel in all virtues. Not even courage is particular to men, but is equally required in women. Courage enables women to endure hardship and resist any pressure or intimidation that would lead to shameful deeds.³¹ As both sexes have the same virtues, they should receive the same education. This does not mean that they should perform the same tasks, but in fact in Musonius’ view the division of labor is not absolute.³²

house, to stay at home, to receive and minister to her husband. *Common virtues are fortitude, justice and prudence.* Both husband and wife should achieve the virtues of the body and the soul [...] With respect to the virtues, also some are peculiarly suitable to men, and others to women. *Fortitude and prudence regard the man* more than they do the women; both on account of the bodily habits, and the soul-power; but temperance peculiarly belongs to the woman.” Phintys, *De mul. mod.*, THESLEFF, 152,5–18; GUTHRIE, 263–264, modified, emphases added.

³⁰ Fr. 4, LUTZ, 44,7–15/45.

³¹ “Perhaps someone may say that courage is a virtue appropriate to men only. That is not so. For a woman too of the right sort must have courage and be wholly free of cowardice, so that she will neither be swayed by hardships nor by fear; otherwise, how will she be said to have self-control, if by threat or force she can be constrained to yield to shame? Nay more, it is necessary for women to be able to repel attack [...] women have some prowess in arms [...]” Fr. 4, LUTZ, 44,20/45. Also Fr. 3, LUTZ, 40,33/41: “the educated woman will be more courageous than the uneducated, and one who has studied philosophy than one who has not; and she will not therefore submit to anything shameful because of fear of death or unwillingness to face hardship, and she will not be intimidated by anyone. [...] she has schooled herself to be high-minded and to think of death not as an evil and life not as a good, and likewise not to shun hardship and never for a moment to seek ease and indolence. [...] such a woman is likely to be energetic, strong to endure pain, prepared to nourish her children at her own breast, and to serve her husband with her own hands, and willing to do things which some would consider no better than slaves’ work.

³² “[S]ince in the human race man’s constitution is stronger and woman’s weaker, tasks should be assigned which are suited to the nature of each [...]. Thus spinning and indoor work would be more fitting for women [...], while gymnastics and outdoor work would be more suitable for men. Occasionally, however, some men might more fittingly handle [...] what is generally considered women’s work, and again, women might do heavier tasks which seem more appropriate for men [...]. For all human tasks [...] are a common obligation and are common for men and women, and none is necessarily appointed for either one exclusively, but some pursuits are more suited to the nature of one, some to the other [...]” (Fr. 4, LUTZ, 46,13–31 / 47). Compare Hierocl., *On household management*,

What should girls learn?

Most advises of the treatise are not gender-specific; they could have equally addressed the education of boys.³³ Most of the times Fénelon speaks of children (“enfants”) and only in a few cases of girls (notably in the chapters on the duties of women and the defects of girls). As seen earlier, however, Fénelon shares the view that women are weaker and their mind more inquisitive (inquisitiveness is a flaw in women). They should not insist therefore on studying. As women are not expected to rule a country, to wage war, or to take up a religious office, they do not need considerable knowledge regarding politics, military strategies, law, philosophy and theology. They are not made for most of the mechanical skills (“arts mécaniques”) either, given their limited strength. However they do have some innate capacities like industry, tidiness and thrift, suited for quiet indoor tasks.³⁴ Chapters XI–XII address the duties of women and the knowledge they require to fulfil them.

Women are responsible for the education of their children (notably of girls), but also of the behaviour of their servants, their morals and service. They are in charge with the financial management of the household. Women need particular discernment and prudence in the education of their children. These are the tasks for which education should prepare girls. They also require a good instruction in religion and a mature spirit.³⁵ The instruction of women, just like that of men, should be thus limited to knowledge required for their occupation; this makes in fact the difference in terms of their studies.³⁶

The main task of women is that of household management. Although disregarded by many women as a menial task [clearly Fénelon addresses elite women], economy is a science, as shown by the instruction and books of ancient Greek and Roman authors.³⁷ Fénelon does not name them, but he must have had in mind classics like Xenophon’s *Oikonomikos*, the *Oeconomica*

Stob. 4.28,21 (ed. HENSE 5, 696–699); RAMELLI, *Hierocles*, 92/93–94/95; GUTHRIE, 285–286.

³³ Rightly, Sarah FATHERLY, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Studies in Eighteenth-Century America and the Atlantic World), Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2008, 80; BOULARD JOUSLIN, “Conservative or Reformer?”, 63.

³⁴ FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 3–4.

³⁵ FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 169.

³⁶ FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 167–168 (“La science des femmes, comme celle des hommes, doit se borner à s’instruire par rapport à leurs fonctions; la différence de leurs emplois doit faire celle de leurs études.”).

³⁷ FÉNELON, *De l’éducation des filles*, 170–171.

ascribed to Aristotle, and the *Res rustica* of Columella.³⁸ Knowledge of all the arts associated with the science of economics, which allow the good management of a family, requires genius.³⁹ (Fénelon refers here to the family as a small republic. This reminds of the ancient view according to which the household (*oikos*) is a small polis.⁴⁰) Girls should acquire from an early age practical knowledge that would allow them to manage the household.⁴¹

The education of girls also has an intellectual dimension. They should learn essential skills like reading, writing, grammar, arithmetics and fundamental economic knowledge. They should acquire the ability to express themselves clearly and correctly, as they will have to teach their children. Fénelon evokes here the example of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who has brought her contribution to the eloquence of her sons.⁴² Although in the introduction Fénelon has argued that women do not need extensive knowledge of legal matters, he details here the essential legal notions a woman should learn due to their practical applicability.⁴³ Instruction should cover narratives about ancient Greek and Rome, the history of France and other countries, as well as Latin (a language to be preferred to foreign languages like Italian or Spanish).⁴⁴ She may also read carefully selected works on rhetoric (“éloquence”) and poetry.⁴⁵ His rather restrictive approach to books that may be read by girls stands in contrast with that of Poullain de la Barre, who encourages readers to consult a variety of works and even proposes a select bibliography. Readers should observe, examine and judge everything.⁴⁶

³⁸ Xen., *Oec.* 1.2–4 describes *οικονομία* as an *ἐπιστήμη*, a “science” or branch of knowledge, similar to medicine, smithing and carpentry.

³⁹ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 172–173.

⁴⁰ Philo, *Ios.* 8.38–39 (transl. Colson); Arius Didymus, in Stob. 2.26, p. 148.5–7; see Brendan D. NAGLE, “Aristotle and Arius Didymus on Household and Πολις”, *RhM* 145 (2002) 198–223 (201).

⁴¹ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 173–174, 187.

⁴² FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 185–186.

⁴³ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 188–189. POUILLAIN DE LA BARRE on the other hand recommends even Justinian's *Institutes* (*De l'éducation des dames*, 320).

⁴⁴ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 192–193. Latin should be taught only to girls with a solid judgment and modest behavior. It is the language of the offices, which may provide her great comfort.

⁴⁵ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 194.

⁴⁶ POUILLAIN DE LA BARRE, *De l'éducation des dames*, 306–311, 320–322. In philosophy Descartes has a prominent place.

In short, girls should be instructed first and foremost in matters needed for a successful household management, but some degree of intellectual and literary training should also be considered. Both themes appear in ancient sources which address the education of women.

Household management and intellectual training

The “curriculum” included above all a wife’s duties in the household. An extensive part of Xenophon’s *Oikonomikos* deals with the matter. Husbands have to teach their wife in matters pertaining to household management. His main character, Isomachus is the best example to the point.⁴⁷ He has married her when she was hardly fifteen, and has turned out to be the excellent teacher of his wife. As a result, she became able to perform her duties even in the absence of the husband, who will dedicate himself to public affairs. Men are largely responsible for their wives’ success or failure in managing the estate. A wife that manages the *oikos* wrongly can be blamed if she has been taught by her husband.⁴⁸ The pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* adds that the husband should also prepare his wife to be a good mother of his children.⁴⁹

Musonius argues that women should study philosophy because among others it enables them to manage the household well, watching to the welfare of the house and able to direct the slaves.⁵⁰ A woman acquainted with philosophy would be just, an irreproachable companion of her husband, an appropriate helpmate, solicitous towards her husband and her children, lacking greed and selfishness.⁵¹ To be sure, for Musonius philosophy is primarily a science of life that enables men *and* women to perform their specific tasks in the best possible way.

Yet, household management is not the only matter women should learn. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* notes that the husband should train his wife in virtues,⁵² and should even introduce her to moral-philosophical principles and some sort of intellectual knowledge. Plutarch notes that the man is the teacher of his wife in virtue through his personal example, his guidance and by means of intellectual training.⁵³ Plutarch also evokes of the intellectual dimension of learning. A woman should study geometry, philosophy and

⁴⁷ Xen., *Oec.* 7.4-8. Compare *Oec.* 3,13 (Critoboulos’ wife).

⁴⁸ *Oec.* 3.11-15; transl. Pomeroy).

⁴⁹ [Arist.], *Oec.* 3.2.12-15.

⁵⁰ Fr. 3, LUTZ, 40/41.

⁵¹ Fr. 3, LUTZ, 38/40-39/41.

⁵² [Arist.], *Oec.* 3.3.

⁵³ *Conj. praec.* 47, *Mor.* 144F.

astronomy, as learning deepens virtuous life and it counters superstition and credulity, common in uneducated women.⁵⁴

Problems with the education of women

Fénelon shares the view that learned women (*savantes*) may be ridiculous. As a consequence teaching should take into account girls' degree of maturity. Educators should guard their spirit and caution them that even in science they should preserve a modesty almost as delicate as that inspired by the repulsion from vice.⁵⁵ Education should pay attention to some faults specific to women. Such is their susceptibility to novelty, superstition, religious innovation and excessive religiosity. Girls should be therefore preserved from such extremes; solid education is the most effective instrument.⁵⁶

Vanity is among the worst defaults that have to be prevented in girls, and countered by noble simplicity.⁵⁷ Girls should particularly be deterred from the *bel esprit*. Dibdin translates "children with high and animated spirit",⁵⁸ but *bel esprit* designates persons distinguished by intellectual preoccupations and wit, knowledgeable in literature and arts, engaging in intelligent conversation.⁵⁹ The term is used with derogatory connotations for women, just as the *savante* or *prétieuse*, and here it censures learned women who display their knowledge and refinement in society.⁶⁰ A girl should therefore not talk except when really necessary, as learned she should be and even when the topic excels the common preoccupations of girls. She should be taught an orderly conduct and she should learn to keep silent.⁶¹

⁵⁴ *Conj. praec.* 48, *Mor.* 145B.

⁵⁵ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 107.

⁵⁶ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 115, 117–118; *Avis*, 229.

⁵⁷ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 155–167.

⁵⁸ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 185.

⁵⁹ Christine M. MANTEGHI (GOULDING), *Witz in Enlightenment Thought and in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Critical Theory and Literary Practice* (Doctoral Thesis), California State University, Chico, 1998, 34–37, <www.csuchico.edu/~cgoulding/witz/new-ch1.doc>.

⁶⁰ On Fénelon's critique of Louis XIV's culture of politeness and of what he regarded as women's frivolous involvement in literature and politics at the cost of fulfilling their domestic duties: BOULARD JOUSLIN, "Conservative or Reformer", 51, 59–60, 62–63.

⁶¹ FÉNELON, *De l'éducation des filles*, 165–166.

The erudite, precious woman who engages in learned conversation instead of keeping silent and modest is a topos in ancient literature. A woman should in fact not learn, certainly not more than she needs for the purpose of household management. Women's desire to learn only expresses their vanity. Moreover, educated women become idle, they neglect their domestic duties and become conceited and meddling, intervening in matters that should not concern them.

Theophrast argues that education that goes beyond the needs of household management made women idle, talkative and busybodies.⁶² Musonius quotes similar concerns with learned women, trained in philosophy, but only to dismiss them:

Some will say that women who associate with philosophers are bound to be arrogant for the most part and presumptuous, in that abandoning their own households and turning to the company of men they practice speeches, talk like sophists, and analyze syllogisms, when they ought to be sitting at home spinning.⁶³

Musonius counters these allegations by arguing that philosophy would in fact make women more modest and dedicated to their traditional roles:

I should not expect the women who study philosophy to shirk their appointed tasks for mere talk any more than men, but I maintain that their discussions should be conducted for the sake of their practical application. [...] Above all, we ought to examine the doctrine which we think women who study philosophy ought to follow; we ought to see if the study which presents modesty as the greatest good can make them presumptuous, if the study which is a guide to the greatest self-restraint accustoms them to live heedlessly, if what sets forth intemperance as the greatest evil does not teach self-control, if what represents the management of a household as a virtue does not impel them to manage well their homes. Finally, the teachings of philosophy exhort the woman to be content with her lot and to work with her own hands.⁶⁴

Seneca notes that his mother, Helvia had studied some philosophy, yet, her interest in liberal arts was restrained by “the old-fashioned strictness” of her husband,⁶⁵ because of those women “who do not employ learning as a means to

⁶² Stob. 2.31.10–14, ed. Wachsmuth, 207.

⁶³ Fr. 3, LUTZ, 43 (emphases added).

⁶⁴ Fr. 3, LUTZ, 42/43).

⁶⁵ Sen., *Helv.* 17.3.

wisdom, but equip themselves with it for the purpose of display”.⁶⁶ Conversely, a traditionally minded education had to promote female chastity, modesty and compliance with gender roles (motherhood) and check unnecessary instruction.⁶⁷ Lucian deplored the fate of scholars employed by wealthy women, not least because these were vain, lacked intellectual aptitudes and used learning for display.⁶⁸ Juvenal is particularly incisive in his derision of learned women who converse on scholarly matters in the presence of men; their intellectual interests are vain and ostentatious.⁶⁹

Conclusion

The topoi regarding women, their nature, abilities and defects, their role and their education are particularly enduring, even when social circumstances change. Some may have been just commonplace, out “in the air”. Yet, Fénelon was an erudite author, with a thorough knowledge of classical authors. The *Education of Girls* suggests that some themes were taken over from literature. The view that women have the same virtues as men, courage included, evokes Musonius’ perspective. Women’s fundamental role in managing the household understood as a small-scale state, the detailed discussion of this role, the authority of the woman in governing the household, her role in supervising the servants evoke the points made in ancient economic literature, notably by Xenophon. The association of women with superstition and excessive religiosity is a widespread topos in antiquity. That learning counters superstition may be a commonplace, but it is discussed in Plutarch.

⁶⁶ *Helv.* 17.4.

⁶⁷ *Helv.* 17.3–4.

⁶⁸ *Merc. cond.* 36 (LCL). See the discussion in HEMELRIJK, *Matrona docta*, 37.

⁶⁹ *Juv., Sat.* 6, 434–447. “But she’s much worse, the woman who as soon as she’s taken her place at dinner is praising Virgil and forgiving Elissa on her deathbed, who pits the poets against one another assesses them, weighing in her scales Maro on this side and Homer on the other. The schoolteachers give way; the teachers of rhetoric are beaten, the whole party falls silent, there’ll not be a word from any lawyer or auctioneer – and not even from another woman. [...] Don’t let the lady reclining next to you have her own rhetorical style or brandish phrases before hurling her rounded syllogism at you. Don’t let her know the whole of history. Let there be a few things in books that she doesn’t even understand. I loathe the woman who is forever referring to Palaemon’s *Grammar* and thumbing through it, observing all the rules of speech, or who quotes lines I’ve never heard, a female scholar. [...] the woman who longs to appear excessively clever and eloquent should hitch up a tunic knee-high, on morals, like a philosopher; thirsting to be deemed both wise and eloquent [...]” (LCL, transl. Morton Braund).

The theme of women's education is obviously Christianized. Women require education not only because they make up half of humankind (as in Plato), but also because they were saved by the blood of Christ. They need not simply philosophy, but a solid religious formation.

In itself or when compared to ancient writings on the matter, the discussion of women's education may seem progressive in some respects. Yet, if the treatise is placed in its historical context and compared with other contemporary works, notably those of Poulain de la Barre, it actually reinforces ancient topoi on women's inferiority, liability to superstition, and it puts forward the ideal of female modesty and self-effacement, encouraging their relegation to the household and domestic duties. The *savante* is vain and ridiculous; therefore girls do not require too much education.

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NEW DETAILS REGARDING THE EXPULSION OF BISHOP GYULA GLATTFELDER FROM ROMANIA

SZABOLCS ANDRÁS¹

Abstract. This paper discusses the diplomatic tensions between Romania, the Holy See and Hungary that have followed the expulsion of Gyula Glattfelder, Bishop of Temesvár (Timișoara) and the steps taken by Hungarian diplomats to rescue Glattfelder. Bishop Glattfelder was the most vehement critic of the 1921 Romanian land reform which led to the expropriation of the landed properties of the Catholic Church in Transylvania. His removal from Romania was a blow to the Catholic Church in Transylvania and had a significant impact on the diplomatic relationship between Romania and the Holy See. Based on so-far unexamined records from the National Archive of Hungary I discuss the diplomatic steps taken by Hungarian officials in the attempt to rescue Bishop Glattfelder and the reasons for which these steps have ultimately failed.

Keywords: Gyula Glattfelder, land reform, Romania, Transylvania, Hungary, Vatican, Ion I. C. Brătianu, Raymund Netzhammer, Pietro Gasparri.

Introduction

For Transylvanian Catholics the interwar period was marked by substantial political and social changes. With the treaty of Trianon (1920) Hungary lost Transylvania to Romania. As a consequence the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Church had to face a new political, social and economic reality. One of the first events with a serious impact on the Catholic Church was the Romanian land reform. The Church owned large landed properties whose revenues sustained numerous institutions, including the Catholic schools. The confiscation of the lands had important consequences for the Church, more generally for the Hungarian minority living in Romania, which experienced the land reform as an oblique expropriation. The most vehement protest against this decision was voiced by Gyula Glattfelder, the Catholic Bishop of the diocese of Csanád/Temesvár (today Timișoara).² His critique of

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² Gyula Glattfelder was born in Budapest in 1874 and died in the same city in 1943. He was appointed bishop of Csanád in 1911. The territory of his diocese was divided by the Hungarian-Romanian border following the Treaty of Trianon, and he remained in the

the Romanian government resulted in a diplomatic scandal, as the government sought to silence the vocal opponent and weaken the influence of the Catholic Church by expelling the remonstrant bishop. His expulsion from Romania was a serious blow to the Catholic Church in Transylvania and had a significant impact on the diplomatic relationship between Romania and the Holy See. On the other hand, the permissive stance of Rome towards the Romanian Government was a source of frustration for the Hungarian minority.

This paper explores so far unresearched aspects of the diplomatic actions taken by Hungarian officials at the Vatican in the attempt to rescue bishop Glattfelder and to preserve the position of the Catholic Church in Transylvania. These details explain the ultimate failure of the Hungarian diplomacy in this endeavour. This research is mainly based on the examination of records from the National Archive of Hungary.

As the expulsion of Bishop Gyula Glattfelder from Romania was intimately connected with the agrarian reform, I start by briefly discussing the consequences of the land reform for the Hungarian minority and the Catholic Church in Transylvania. I then turn to the position of Bishop Glattfelder on the matter, the ensuing political conflicts and the subsequent diplomatic steps undertaken by Hungary and the Vatican in the attempt to prevent his banishment.

The consequences of the land reform

The land reform had been envisaged already in 1917, when the Romanian Government that took refuge in Iași³ promised land distribution to peasants in order to prevent the expansion of Russian bolshevism in Romania. As a consequence two land reforms were carried out: in 1918 and in 1921. In 1923 the large landed properties were nationalized, and plots were partially distributed to peasants. The need for an agrarian reform was recognized even by conservative politicians. On the whole, however, the land reforms did not attain the expected economic results. The landed properties were fragmented, and the situation of the peasantry did not improve significantly.⁴

Romanian part, in Temesvár (Timișoara). After the conflicts with the Romanian government addressed in this paper, he moved to Szeged, in Hungary. He was appointed archbishop of Kalocsa in 1942.

³ King Ferdinand and the Romanian Government were forced to take refuge in Iași following the defeat of the Romanian army and the occupation of Bucharest and much of Southern Romania by the troops of the Central Powers.

⁴ Mihai BĂRBULESCU, Dennis DELETANT, Keith HITCHINS, Șerban PAPACOSTEA, Pompiliu TEODOR, *Istoria României*, București: Ed. Corint, 2005, 360.

From the perspective of the Hungarian minority the agrarian reform was more than a distribution of land; it meant the spoliation of the national wealth. The law of 1921 expropriated most of the private lands, rented plots, the estates of the foundations, churches, monasteries, chapters, universities and schools. For the annexed regions (Transylvania, Banat, Partium) this meant the loss of over three million acres of landed properties.⁵ As in the Szeklerland (the Eastern region of Transylvania) most of the land belonged to various commonage associations, like the Csíki Magánjavak [Private Wealth of Csík County] or similar, the agrarian reform had catastrophic effects precisely on the social class on whose behalf it was carried out. The expropriated properties were so large that they could not even be allocated to new owners; they became therefore the property of the state. 37,17% of the expropriated lands in Szekler counties was released to ethnic Romanians, whereas their proportion in the overall population of these counties was below 10%. This detail shows clearly the real intention of the law.⁶

Gyula Glattfelder and the Land Reform

The inequities induced by the enactment of the law and their impact on the Catholic Church caught the attention of Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Secretary of State of the Holy See. He summoned the Romanian ambassador, Dimitrie C. Pennescu and informed him that the Holy See did not oppose the agrarian reform but could not agree with the expropriation of the lands of the religious schools, which were of utmost importance for their subsistence.⁷

Gyula Glattfelder, Bishop of Csanád voiced a strong critique against the expropriation and the accompanying inequities, stirring thereby the anger of Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu⁸, who decided to dispose of this uncomfortable cleric as soon as possible. In 1922 Glattfelder formulated his position in a circular letter addressed to his diocese, showing that the Romanian

⁵ EGYED Ákos, *A székelyek rövid története a megtelepedéstől 1989-ig*, Csíkszereda: Pallas – Akadémia, 2013, 279.

⁶ EGYED, *A székelyek rövid története*, 282.

⁷ Raport al lui Dimitrie C. Pennescu, trimis extraordinar și ministru plenipotențiar pe lângă Sfântul Scaun, adresat lui I. Gh. Duca, ministru al afacerilor străine al României, privind unele sesisări ale Vaticanului în legătură cu aplicarea reformei agrare față de instituțiile catolice, Nr. 513/24. oct. 1922, in Marius Ioan BUCUR, Dumitru PREDA (eds.), *România – Vatican, Relații diplomatice I, 1920–1950*, București: Ed. Enciclopedică, 2003, 12.

⁸ Ion I.C. Brătianu was a prominent Romanian politician, head of the National Liberal Party, and Prime Minister of Romania for five terms (1909–1910; 1914–1918; 1918–1919; 1922–1926, and 1927).

agrarian reform had put the Church in an impossible situation. He did not contest the reform as such; he had already parcelled out a part of his estate. But the bishop objected to the small state compensation, of only two quintals of wheat per acre, which amounted in fact to nationalization without compensation. He urged the parishes to claim plots from the lands of the diocese at the allotment. He dissuaded the communities from participating in the festivities prescribed by the Government at the occasion of the land reform.⁹ From the diary of Raymund Netzhammer, archbishop of Bucharest¹⁰ it seems though that it was not this circular which caused the anger of the Government, but his letter to Constantin Banu, Minister of Religious Affairs.¹¹ The minister had encouraged Netzhammer to share his thoughts on the issue frankly, and Glattfelder did just that: he demonstrated the inequity of the law with categorical arguments. His letter reached Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu, who decided to retaliate. “Those bishops [from Transylvania] have a close relationship not only with the Government from Budapest, but also with the most reprobate irredentist organizations”, – the Prime Minister claimed, “and the worst of them is Glattfelder. He must be quickly removed; if he does not go away, we will interrupt every relationship with his diocese. We cannot tolerate him anymore, especially because he wrote this terrible letter to minister

⁹ Esztergom Primate Archives (EPA), I.13.e. Erdély, 3730/1922 D/c. *The Letter of Bishop Glattfelder about Romanian Agrarian Reform.*

¹⁰ Albin (Raymund) Netzhammer was a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Einsiedeln, archbishop of Bucharest between 1905–1924. He was born in 1862 in Klettgau-Erzingen, Baden. He joined the Abbey of Einsiedeln in 1880, made his vows one year later, and was ordained priest in Chur in 1886. Netzhammer was appointed archbishop of Bucharest by Pope Pius X, in 1905. He had a difficult mission, given the complicated political, ethnic, and religious situation of Romania. Pope Pius XI demanded his resignation and appointed him titular archbishop of Anazarbus. After his resignation, Netzhammer returned to Einsiedeln. He died in 1945 on the Island of Werd (between Stein am Rhein and Eschenz) in Thurgau, Switzerland. For a short biography of Raymund Netzhammer see *Biographia Benedictina (Benedictine Biography)*, Version vom 17.9.2011, http://www.benediktinerlexikon.de/wiki/Netzhammer,_Raymund. He is not mentioned in Erwin GATZ, *Die Bischöfe der deutschsprachigen Länder 1785/1803 bis 1945: ein biographisches Lexikon*, Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1983. His diary, published posthumously is a most valuable source of information concerning his mission and the political and ecclesiastic situation in Romania in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Raymund NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien: im Spannungsfeld zwischen Staat und Vatikan*, I-II (Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks 70–71), edited by Nikolaus Netzhammer in collaboration with Krista Zach, München: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1995–1996.

¹¹ NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien* II, 1206–1207.

Banu.”¹² In his memoirs Archbishop Netzhhammer also shows that King Ferdinand supported the actions of the Government and did not respond to his letters. The king was displeased already in 1921 with the fact that the bishop with Swabian origins proved to be the most combative Hungarian public figure.¹³

In a letter from November 3rd 1922 written in French, I. Gh. Duca, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Vatican about the standpoint of the Government and its discontentment with the protest of Bishop Glattfelder: he was the spokesman of the interests of the Hungarian aristocrats, owners of large estates, and he had launched a discrediting campaign against the Romanian legal order in the foreign press. The Catholic Church was not supposed to be indifferent to the social reforms, Duca argued. With his actions the bishop engaged the clergy in the Hungarian irredentist movement. Therefore the Secretariat of State has to act accordingly, if the Vatican wanted to preserve the good relationship with Romania.¹⁴

From the exchange between Banu and Netzhhammer we learn that the Government took the irrevocable decision to banish the bishop already in December 1922, regardless of whether Glattfelder apologised or not. The next step was to convince the Holy See to accept this decision. Nuncio Francesco Marmaggi called Glattfelder to Bucharest on December 19, and showed him the exchange of letters between the Government and the Secretary of State of the Vatican. Gasparri informed Glattfelder in a letter about the objections of the Romanian government and the steps taken to expel him.¹⁵ It was probably on this occasion that the bishop expressed his willingness to move to the Hungarian part of the Csanád diocese, had the Holy See desired it, to allow a peaceful resolution of the tensions between the parties. According to Netzhhammer the decision of the Holy See was taken at the end of January or beginning of February 1923, because the Government immediately changed the

¹² “Die drübigen Bischöfe stehen nicht nur mit der Regierung in Budapest in Verbindung sondern auch mit den ärgsten irredentischen Organisationen. Der schlimmste unter ihnen ist Glattfelder. Dieser muß in kürzester Frist entfernt werden; wenn er nicht geht, werden wir mit ihm und mit seiner Diözese jede Verbindung abbrechen. Wir können ihn schon deshalb nicht dulden, weil er dem Kultusminister Banu einen fürchterlichen Brief geschrieben hat.” NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, II, 1206.

¹³ NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, II, 1076.

¹⁴ *Telegramă a lui I. Gh. Duca, ministru al Afacerilor Străine al României către Dimitrie C. Pennescu, trimis extraordinar și ministru plenipotențiar pe lângă Sfântul Scaun, privind unele aspecte ale relațiilor cu Vaticanul legate de aplicarea Legii Agrare în Transilvania*, Nr. 56 825/ 3. noiembrie 1922, București, in BUCUR, PREDĂ, *România – Vatican*, 13.

¹⁵ NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, II, 1207.

tone and informed the Nunciature in a friendly letter that the measures against the diocese and the clergy (other than those regarding the bishop) were revoked. As Archbishop Netzhammer remarked,

The note of the Government is an obvious sign that the Holy See yielded to the pressure, leaving without any support the absolutely brave bishop dr. Glattfelder. And it is the task of the nuncios to carry out and sign such things! I would not be surprised to learn that after having expelled the bishop, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Religious Affairs would recommended him at the Holy See for a high distinction.¹⁶

One day later the nuncio informed Glattfelder that the Holy See did not reproach him anything, but in order to restore the good relationship with Romania he had to move to Hungary. On the 6th of March Glattfelder took farewell from the king, concelebrated his last mass with Bishop Gusztáv Károly Mailáth of Transylvania and his successor, the Apostolic Administrator Ágoston Pacha.¹⁷

The role of Hungary in the Glattfelder-affair

If the assessment of the Archbishop of Bucharest, cited above, is correct, the attempt of the Hungarian diplomacy to keep Glattfelder in Timișoara was belated. According to archive records at the end of February 1923 the Hungarians asked Francesco Borgongini Duca, Secretary of the Holy Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs to demand the bishop to remain in his diocese. The Hungarian ambassador József Somssich, familiar with the Vatican diplomacy, admitted that they acted too late, especially because Glattfelder offered his resignation: “This being the case we will have to face the situation that as strongly as we would object, the Holy See will argue that they did nothing else but fulfil the explicit wish of the Hungarian bishop: they cannot object, even if that wish is contrary to the interests of the

¹⁶ “Die Note der Regierung ist das sicherste Zeichen, daß der Heilige Stuhl nachgegeben und den ganz ausgezeichneten Bischof Dr. Glattfelder fallengelassen hat. Solche Dinge durchzuführen und zu unterzeichnen ist Sache der Nuntien! Es möchte mich nicht wundern, wenn jetzt nach Entfernung des Bischofs der rumänische Außenminister und der Kultusminister dem Heiligen Stuhl zur Verleihung eines hohen Ordens vorge schlagen würden!” NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, II, 1213. Engl. tr. Sz.A.

¹⁷ NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, II, 1224.

Hungarian Royal Government.”¹⁸ As a result of the activity of the Hungarian diplomacy, the Holy See issued an official notice in Italian to the embassy, informing the Government in Budapest that in return for Glattfelder’s leave the Romanian Government revoked the retaliatory measures against the diocese. At the same time, out of respect for the bishop, the Holy See accepted the proposal of Glattfelder and appointed Apostolic Administrator Ágoston Pacha as his successor:

Mons. Glattfelder, Vescovo di Temesvar, in seguito alla forte opposizione fatta contro di lui dal Governo rumeno, ritenendo quanto mai difficile la sua posizione di fronte a detto Governo, e considerando i gravi danni che potevano derivare alle istituzioni cattoliche dal prolungarsi di tale situazione, ha chiesto alla Santa Sede di potersi ritirare nella parte ungherese della sua diocesi ed ivi porre la sua stabile residenza, lasciando ad altri al cura della parte rumena della diocesi stessa. La Santa Sede però esigeva anzi tutto che il Governo rumeno revocasse le misure adottate contro le persone e le istituzioni cattoliche di Temesvar, per la questione sorta con Mons. Glattfelder, ciò ottenuto concedeva che nella parte rumena della diocesi fosse costituito un Amministratore Apostolico a tal proposito le comunico con tutta riserva che la persona del nominate è stata fatta designare dal medesimo Mons. Glattfelder. E’ stato quindi nominato Amministratore Apostolico di tale parte della Diocesi di Temesvar, il Rev.mo Can. Pacha Cancelliere della medesima diocesi, persona di fiducia del Vescovo stesso.¹⁹

Glattfelder sent a similar letter to Primate Archbishop of Esztergom, János Csernoch, in which he blamed the Romanian Government for his situation and announced that he would move his residence to Szeged:

With respectful deference I take the liberty to inform you, Eminence, that following the demand addressed by the Romanian Government to the Apostolic Holy See concerning my removal from my Episcopal See, based on unjust arguments, which I did not have the possibility to disprove, and due to the fact that it [the Government] even envisaged to break the relationship with the Church, had I denied this demand, moreover considering that it applied this step to my diocese, His Holiness the Pope decided that I had to move my seat to the

¹⁸ National Archives of Hungary (NAH), K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 18/pol. 1923 February 15 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*). Engl. tr. Sz.A.

¹⁹ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 14539/pol. 1923 March 2 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*).

Hungarian part of my diocese, and he appointed for the Romanian part [of the diocese] an Apostolic Administrator in the person of provost prebend, Episcopal Director Ágoston Pacha. As a consequence of this measure I shall move my seat to Szeged as soon as possible.²⁰

Glattfelder's letter did not quiet down the spirits in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the Office of the Primate, as they disapproved the decision of the bishop to offer to leave Timișoara, which made that the Hungarian part had no legal basis for effective actions.²¹

On May 17 1923, Romanian ambassador Dimitrie Pennescu reported the successful finalization of the affair; he and Gasparri had re-discussed the issue on the occasion of a reception, and decided that both would demand bishop Glattfelder to abstain from any political manifestations in the future.²²

In an interview published in *Új Nemzedék*²³ Glattfelder related the details of his exile, and referred to someone from the bishopric who had urged the Romanian Government to remove him: he had found out that the speedy decision concerning his removal was due to the remark of one of his priests before a Romanian official and alluded to the scandal the bishop would provoke, had he spent the upcoming Easter in Timisoara and preached on that occasion.²⁴ The archive records indicate that the Hungarian Government had a clear standpoint on this issue and knew that the “traitor” was no one else but the bishop's person of trust, Ágoston Pacha. The Hungarian Government had been monitoring Pacha at least since January 1922, during his trip to Rome. The ambassador of Hungary to the Holy See, József Somssich was mandated to keep an eye on his movements. He was seen as a sleek person who could easily ingratiate himself everywhere, but his loyalty to the ideals of the Hungarian state were doubtful, to say the least.²⁵ His monitoring was pursued in 1923 as

²⁰ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 688/pol. 1923 February 24 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*). Tr. Sz.A.

²¹ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 36/pol. 1923 March 9 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*).

²² Raport al lui Dimitrie C. Pennescu, trimis extraordinar și ministru plenipotențiar pe lângă Sfântul Scaun, adresat lui I. Gh. Duca, ministru al Afacerilor Străine al României, privind măsura luată de autoritățile Vaticanului de rechemare a episcopului romano-catolic de la Timișoara, 230/17 mai 1923, in: BUCUR, PREDA, *România – Vatican*, 14–15.

²³ Hungarian daily newspaper published between 1913–1944 (*New Generation*).

²⁴ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 1570/pol. 1923 March 27 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*).

²⁵ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 40: 1920–1929, R2 Romania, 42/pol. 1922 January 20 (*Pacha*).

well, and the reports describe him as the “spineless Swabian” who was not willing to speak anything else but Romanian in the girls’ school of Timișoara. According to another report, on November 15, 1922 Pacha claimed before Lorenzo Schioppa, the nuncio of the Holy See to Hungary, that the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Árpád Lipót Várady would have said of Glattfelder that he “was up to no good”.²⁶

The Hungarian Government intended to object to the nomination of Pacha for Apostolic Administrator, but the decision could not be implemented because he was the choice of Glattfelder, moreover the bishop had demanded his transfer to Hungary, and he had never consulted the Hungarian Embassy in Rome, but negotiated only with the Romanian ambassador Pennescu.²⁷ On the whole the steps of the Hungarian diplomacy were entirely ineffective, and in both cases (that of Glattfelder and of Pacha) no public, official measures were taken. The most pertinent assessment of the Glattfelder-affair comes from the Archbishop of Bucharest, Raymund Netzhammer:

For Romanians, Glattfelder was a too strong personality. A strong-minded and logically reasoning person like him was uncomfortable. From the very beginning, of all the bishops he was treated with the most antipathy. He was reproached for being a radical Hungarian chauvinist in spite of his Swabian origins. The controversy flared up when he objected to the unjust expropriation, holding against the Romanians that they wanted to offer compensation for only 3% of the real value of the property. The Nuntiature eventually abandoned the bishop, on account of who knows what unfulfillable promise. Bishop Count Széchenyi [Miklós Széchenyi, bishop of Nagyvárád/Oradea] was also on the point of being sacrificed, when death took care of the final step on behalf of the Romanians.²⁸

²⁶ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 2039/pol. 1923 May 15 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*).

²⁷ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 39: 1920–1931. R1 Romania 51/pol. 1923 April 2 (*Glattfelder Gyula csanádi püspök ügye*).

²⁸ NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien* II, 1280 (“Exzellenz! Glattfelder ist eine zu starke Persönlichkeit für die Rumänen. Ein solcher entschiedener und logisch denkender Mann ist ihnen unbequem! Die Rumänen waren ihm auch von Anfang an wie keinem anderen Bischof aufsässig. Dann haben sie ihm vorgehalten, er sei, obgleich im Grunde Schwabe, ein extremer magyarischer Chauvinist. Der offene Streit brach aus, als sich Glattfelder gegen die ungerechte Enteignung wehrte und den Rumänen vorrechnete, daß sie nicht mehr als 3 % des wahren Wertes eines Gutes bezahlen wollen. Die Nuntiatur, wer weiß gegen welches nicht erfüllbare Versprechen, ließ schließlich den Bischof auch fallen. Bischof Graf Széchenyi war gleichfalls für die Absägung reif, als gerade der Tod den letzten Schritt für die Rumänen besorgte!”). (Engl. tr. Sz.A.).

The situation of Bishop Gusztáv Mailáth of Transylvania

This last sentence of the Archbishop of Bucharest hints to the pressure put by the media and Romanian political circles on other outspoken Catholic clerics. The same arises from the letter of Bishop Gusztáv Mailáth of Alba Iulia, addressed to Msgr. János Csiszárík.²⁹ Mailáth informs the Hungarian diplomat about the offensive of the liberal government against Catholic schools and about the intent to expel him as well as canon József Hirschler, following the departure of Glattfelder.³⁰ (Hirschler was a prominent cleric, parish priest of St Michael's Parish in Cluj and founder of the Marianum, a reputed Hungarian Catholic School for girls in the same city.) The bishop informs Csiszárík about the attacks fired against him and Hirschler in the liberal newspaper *Înfrățirea* from Cluj; they had even reported at the Ministry of Education the alleged irredentist spirit of the Marianum (manifested in pupils' wear, and the use of textbooks approved by the Hungarian Ministry of Education). The charges voiced in the article were reiterated shortly thereafter by Senator Vasile Bianu, professor at the University of Cluj, in an interpellation addressed to the Senate.³¹ (The bishop wrote the letter one day before he addressed the Senate to refute the charges of irredentism brought by Vianu.) In his letter to Csiszárík, Mailáth also informed the Hungarian diplomat about the farewell visit paid by Glattfelder. His departure was perceived as a great loss to the Catholic Church in Transylvania and a dangerous precedent that could be used to put pressure on other clerics to leave the country. Coercion occurred, metaphorically speaking, through the "lowly weapons of starvation", meant to deprive the ecclesial institutions of their resources. Bishop Mailáth related the attacks against Catholics to a broader political-ecclesiastic issue, namely the intention of Greek

²⁹ János Csiszárík (1860-1936) was a cleric, titular bishop and Hungarian diplomat in the service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with connections to the Vatican. He served as secretary of the canon law advisor of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in Rome in 1910. Between 1916-1918 he worked in Vienna at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the early twenties he participated in several diplomatic missions in Germany, Poland and Turkey. He was appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* II, ed. István DIÓS, Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1993, s.v.

³⁰ On the intention to remove Hirschler from Cluj see also NETZHAMMER, *Bischof in Rumänien*, 1265.

³¹ In 1925 Bianu would also accuse Transylvanian Jewish schools of being hotspots of Hungarian irredentism. GIDÓ Attila, *Două decenii. Evreii din Cluj în perioada interbelică*, Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2014, 115, referring to Vasile BIANU, "Școlile evreiești din Ardeal", in *Ațiunea Românească*, September 1 (1925) 8–9.

Catholics to object against articles 21-23 of the draft of the Constitution (which defined the position of the denominations and stipulated that the Orthodox Church was the dominant Church in Romania). Mailáth also suspected that the grudge against the Catholic schools of the Hungarian minority was due to the higher educational standards of these institutions, in particular those of the Teacher Training College of the Marianum. Whatever we would make of these deductions, the concluding lines of the letter show that the bishop expected Hungarian authorities to take some (diplomatic) steps on behalf of the Catholic Church. Mailáth encouraged Csizsárik to use this information if the opportunity emerged. The clergy was determined to resist the pressure and remain in place.³² Ambassador Somssich, who also received Mailáth's letter, took the bishop's complaint to Borgongini, Secretary of the Holy Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, but the latter denied that the Secretariat of State had such issues on the agenda. Moreover, he mentioned that the Romanian ambassador Pennescu spoke highly of bishop Mailáth, contrasting him to his colleague from Timisoara.³³ Responding to the Hungarian concerns Cardinal Gasparri officially informed the Hungarian Embassy that the Romanian Government had not asked the Holy See to expel either Mailáth or Hirschler.³⁴

Conclusion

The archive records elucidate some unknown circumstances of the Glattfelder-affair and clarify some misunderstandings. The conflicts surrounding the expulsion of the bishop and the ensuing diplomatic steps show that Transylvania was an area of confrontation between the interests of the Holy See, Romania and Hungary. These conflicting interests emerged in this case on the margin of an apparently personal affair, but in fact they had political and ecclesiastic implications that transcended the borders of Romania. The Holy See attempted to find a solution to the conflict that would preserve the good relationship with Romania and secure the signing of the Concordat, defending on the other hand the interests of the Church and the position of the Catholic bishops. However the accommodating stance of Rome towards the

³² NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 41: 1921–1928. RE-3-C Erdélyi ügyek 1308/pol. 1923 March 12. *Mailáth*.

³³ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 41: 1921–1928. RE-3-C Erdélyi ügyek 59/pol. 1923 April 6. *Mailáth*.

³⁴ NAH, K105 Vatican Embassy, bundle 41: 1921–1928. RE-3-C Erdélyi ügyek 16337/pol. 1923 April 13. *Mailáth*.

Romanian Government was a source of real frustration for Catholics in Romania belonging to the Hungarian minority.

The diplomatic steps of Hungary meant to defend Bishop Glattfelder were somewhat delayed and inefficient. However archive records show that irrespective of the disappointment of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, the main reason for the failure to keep the bishop in Transylvania did not lie with the Hungarian diplomacy or the unassertive position of the Vatican, but were due to his decision to leave Romania, in order to prevent a deeper diplomatic conflict between Romania and the Holy See.

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REVIEW

Bruce J. Malina, John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Deutero-Pauline Letters*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2013.

Bruce Malina and John Pilch, known for their social-scientific approach of the New Testament and early Christianity propose here a third commentary in the *Social-Science Commentary* series, following that on the Book of Revelation (2003) and on the letters of Paul (2006). The commentary on the Deutero-Pauline epistles (Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles and Hebrews) analyses the social setting of Jesus-groups in Western Asia Minor in antiquity, also engaging contemporary anthropological studies.

The introductory chapter addresses the social and cultural setting of the Jesus-groups, highlighting the numerous bonds with their societies. These communities are thought to be mostly minority Israelite groups living in the cities of Western Asia Minor. The authors rightly emphasise that these communities were not isolated, but participated in the cultural, associative and religious life of the cities. The authors of the epistles, Paul's collaborators and legatees are understood as change agent successors who propose solutions to Israelites living in a non-Israelite society, preaching the redemption of Israel through Jesus, the Messiah of Israel, whom God has raised from the dead. The communities are expected to embrace this religious innovation and live accordingly. This innovation may not be considered a conversion properly speaking, i.e. as a transfer from one group to another, but as a change within the group itself.

The terminology borrowed from social sciences (ingroup/outgroup, change agent, group stability, innovation, alternate states of consciousness and alike) may appear complicated for the usual readers of commentaries, but the terms are explained and the commentary is easy to read. The authors also explain fundamental notions regarding the genre of these writings (the Hellenistic letter) and the structures of ancient societies: the *oikos*, the theme of household management and the household codes, the patronage system, slavery, the situation of widows, notions like *paideia*, salvation and savior. These topics are discussed in the final reading scenarios. The commentary also includes short explanations of basic religious notions (angels, apocalypticism, charism, grace, Kingdom of God, prayer, miracle, sacrifice, *eusebeia*) and fundamentals concerning the early history of Christian groups (Jesus-tradition, Gnosticism). These "reading scenarios" provide essential information about ancient societies and the early Jesus-groups and facilitate the understanding of

the text, making the commentary accessible to students and non-specialists. The text itself is explained in brief, but instructive textual notes.

The commentary is to introduce the readers to the world of these ancient writings, offering perspectives not otherwise discussed in theological commentaries. This approach will be appreciated by those interested in the social context of the early communities of Christ-believers.

The presentation of the addressees (the Jesus-groups) as communities that largely remain within the larger group of Israelites in Greco-Roman societies (against the widespread model of “conversion” from Judaism to “Christianity”) is by and large convincing. Yet, such description may not be generalized for all epistles. Notably in the case of the Pastoral Epistles it is far from obvious that the author and the community would be of Jewish descent. Conversely (as shown by Jürgen Roloff, Michael Theobald and Hans-Ulrich Weidemann), the Pastoral Epistles reflect a departure from and an oblivion of Israel. The implied community is in not (chiefly) Jewish and the polemic against the opponents expresses the position of a non-Jewish author. This is not an inner-Jewish debate, as in the authentic letters of Paul.

Deriving the *ekklēsia* from the Septuagint is common but unconvincing in the light of the analyses of older and contemporary authors like Erik Peterson, Klaus Berger, Hans-Ulrich Weidemann, Matthias Klinghardt, who have made a compelling case for the connection between the term *ekklēsia* and the Hellenistic *polis*.

The assumption that 1 Tim 2,9-15 would be anti-Gnostic is also common, yet unconvincing. In one of the reading scenarios the use of “Gnosticism” is also problematic, and the Gnosis would be more appropriate. The early Christian use of the term, the terminological difficulties and the changes in meaning (e.g. the change of perspective reflected by the Messina-definition) have been pointed out by Christoph Marksches in his *Gnosis* (2001, Engl. transl. 2003).

All things considered, the commentary offers a useful insight in the life and sociocultural context of early Jesus-groups, breaking with the clichés found in some theological commentaries which ignore these realities and promote anachronistic views of earliest Christian communities. Notably students will have a lot to learn from this writing.

Korinna Zamfir

ERRATUM AND ADDENDUM

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